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The Silent Films of Alexander Dovzhenko: A Historical Poetics

by ©

Bohdan Nebesio

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Modern Languages and Comparative Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 1996

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Silent Films of Alexander Dovzhenko: A Historical Poetics" submitted by Bohdan Nebesio in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

This dissertation seeks to link an analysis of the stylistic elements of the silent films of Alexander Dovzhenko (1894-1956) with a detailed study of the historical and aesthetic contexts which influenced their production. Some aspects of Dovzhenko's biography, deliberately neglected or misrepresented by Soviet biographers, motivate the stories and discourse of his *Zvenyhora* (1928), *Arsenal* (1929) and *Zemlia* (Earth, 1930). Dovzhenko's class origin, his participation in and loyalties during the Ukrainian revolution, his fine arts training in Germany and Ukraine, and his involvement in the Ukrainian cultural renaissance of the 1920s influenced the form and content of his silent trilogy. Guided by the framework of historical poetics, this work examines these films with reference to filmmaking practices of the time. Films made in Ukraine, the Soviet montage tradition, and the classical Hollywood model provide a background against which Dovzhenko's cinema is judged. The theoretical writings of lesser known Soviet theoreticians provide insight into the film culture of the 1920s and reflect general contemporary knowledge of the medium. This work investigates issues of film images, intertitles and montage as major stylistic elements surfacing in theoretical writings on cinema of the time and ventures beyond the theoretical models of Eisenstein and Pudovkin with which Western scholarship is generally familiar. The leitmotif of "poetic cinema" emerges throughout the analytical parts of the work. Discussion of cinematic elements tests the validity of the critical assessment of Dovzhenko's films as "poetic" or "lyrical." Although the development of broad cinematic hypotheses is beyond the scope of this work, Dovzhenko's films raise many basic theoretical issues which require the integration of insights into particular films with broader theoretical concerns.

Acknowledgements

A refugee from Poland writing on the subject of Ukrainian cinema at a Canadian university is inevitably indebted to many people who offered support along the way. Long before my academic career had begun Bozena and Oleh Iwanusiw and Dmytro Coba of Toronto, who acted as my sponsors in Canada, offered help without which the development of my interests would not have been possible.

Professor Louis Iribarne's enthusiasm in teaching early Soviet cinema at the University of Toronto first piqued my interest in the subject and was responsible for my subsequent choosing of cinema studies as my area of concentration. Professor Bohdan Medwidsky was liable for my coming to the University of Alberta. Over the years he has taught me about university life more than he perhaps intended.

Professor Oleh Ilnytzkyj, my graduate supervisor, has assisted in many ways to make my graduate studies at the University of Alberta a fruitful experience. He has introduced me to many facets of Ukrainian intellectual life of the 1920s and has offered detailed commentary during the writing of my thesis. Other members of my graduate committee, Professors Edward Możejko, William Beard, Uri Margolin and Natalia Pylypiuk have provided critical commentary which had strengthened the dissertation considerably. Dovzhenko scholar, Professor Vance Kepley, Jr., inspired this dissertation and offered a constructive critique as the external member of my examination committee. I also extend my thanks to Marco Carynnyk who shared his archival materials, translations and knowledge of the subject with me.

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Film scholars from around the world answered my queries about silent film posted to film discussion groups on the Internet. I am grateful to members of Screen-L and H-Film lists who have been particularly helpful. Through lucky coincidence I was assigned office space at the University of Alberta with Wacław Osadnik and Marek Haltof. For more than five years they were willing to share their extensive knowledge of cinema with me and cooperate on various (not always scholarly) projects.

My special thanks go to fellow students, Marusia Kaweski, Susan Niawchuk and Alice Nash, who made sure that definite and indefinite articles were in place and that other intricacies of the English language did not obscure my writing. And lastly, my deepest gratitude is to my wife Ania Andrusieczko whose contribution and support would be impossible to articulate in words.

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Introduction

> The art historian's trade rests on the conviction once formulated by Wölfflin, that "not everything is possible in every period."[1]

> A better reason to study history is that the things people did and said in other times are less predictable than what our contemporaries do and say.[2]

Introductory texts on film studies rarely pass the opportunity to mention Alexander Dovzhenko as a major filmmaker of the Soviet montage tradition of the 1920s. They consider him a great master of Soviet revolutionary cinema and a "poet of the cinema." However, discussions of the period and of the montage tradition are, as a rule, based on Eisenstein's *Bronenosets Potemkin* (Battleship Potemkin, 1925). Moreover the principles of montage are taught solely on the basis of Eisenstein's later writings. More specialized courses bring Pudovkin and Kuleshov into the equation as more traditional and conservative filmmakers. Whenever Dovzhenko and his *Zemlia* (*Earth*, 1930) are introduced, they are treated as curiosities that illustrate the "rich poetic and folkloric traditions of his native Ukraine." With the exception of a few favourable critiques of Dovzhenko's films by the writers of avant-garde his films are usually studied as cultural documents of the period rather than as works of art.

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[1] E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1977), 4.

[2] David Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 265.

The exclusion of Dovzhenko from detailed studies of the poetics of Soviet cinema may be explained by the lack of theoretically significant works among his writings. While other filmmakers discussed their technique and elaborated on the nature of cinema,[3] Dovzhenko focused on his art. The translation of theoretical works by Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Kuleshov, and Vertov into English has secured for them considerable attention from western scholars. A director's theoretical writings seem to guarantee understanding of and interest in his films. But just because Dovzhenko turned to fiction rather than exegesis does not necessarily mean that his films are less interesting. As Vance Kepley asserts "...Dovzhenko did not develop a sustained theoretical account of his montage style. The style itself, however, is not without considerable theoretical interest."[4]

---

[3] See, for example, Sergei Eisenstein, *Selected Writings*, vols. 1-2 (London: BFI, 1988-1991); Vsevolod Pudovkin, *Film Technique and Film Acting*, trans. and ed. Ivor Montagu (London: Vision, 1974); Lev Kuleshov, *Kuleshov on Film: Writings by Lev Kuleshov*. trans. and ed. Ronald Levaco (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974); and Dziga Vertov, *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*, trans. Kevin O'Brien, ed. Anette Michelson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

This dissertation focuses on the stylistic elements of Dovzhenko's silent films. I have chosen to discuss the three films which brought him fame and established him as a major film director. *Zvenyhora* (1928), *Arsenal* (1929) and *Zemlia (Earth, 1930)* were made and released within three years of one another and are considered his silent trilogy. The choice of these films was dictated by several factors. Being silent, they were not affected by the sound revolution in cinema and the stylistic changes it precipitated. Moreover, all three were products of the semi-independent Ukrainian film industry before it ceased to exist in 1930. Having been made without considerable external political pressure, they most fully reflect Dovzhenko's creative potential. Finally, these three films are his best known works and the international critical community considers them to be masterpieces.

Thus far, both Soviet and Western scholars have approached Soviet Ukrainian cinema and particularly the cinema of Alexander Dovzhenko from a somewhat unproductive perspective. While other national cinemas are studied and explained within the context of their national cultures, Ukrainian cinema has always been viewed as part of the broader "Soviet phenomenon." Since the term "Soviet," as applied to the arts of the 1920s, does not define any one discrete national cultural tradition, Ukrainian cinema of that time has never been interpreted in its proper context. This has led to analyses that are ahistorical and culturally misinformed.

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[4] Vance Kepley, Jr., "Dovzhenko and Montage: Issues of Style and Narration in the Silent Films," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19.1 (1994), 44.

Therefore my first objective will be to define the context within which Dovzhenko's films were created. The cultural renaissance in Ukraine during the 1920s and the Ukrainian cinema of this period require particular attention because they provide the immediate milieu for Dovzhenko's films. Furthermore, Dovzhenko must be viewed as a representative of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the 1920s who accepted the October revolution but who also managed to influence the national and cultural politics of the Soviet Ukraine. The fate which met many of Dovzhenko's colleagues confirms that their activities during the 1920s were deemed inappropriate by Soviet ideologists. Examinations of Dovzhenko's films from a Soviet perspective inevitably produce a somewhat distorted picture of the artist and his art.

An exploration of the impact of the Ukrainian context on the thematics and style of Dovzhenko's films requires a strong theoretical model. Unfortunately, contemporary theoretical thinking on cinema is of little help. The SLAB theory, which groups today's theories together,[5] is based on two assumptions. First, a work of art is a "text" which requires "reading," that is, the determination of an implicit or symptomatic meaning. Secondly, an artistic process is a process of communication with a set of rules and a "message." Therefore, textual reading as a communication process seeks to decode the "message" which is present in every "text." Moreover, "reading" becomes synonymous with interpretation. and—as Bordwell asserts—"[a]ny interpretative practice seeks to show that texts mean more than they seem to say. But, one might ask, why does a text not say what it means?"[6]

---

[5] SLAB denotes the theories that have dominated film theory in the past three decades. It refers to Saussurean semiotics, Lacanian psychoanalysis, Althusserian Marxism and

The textual approach disregards medium and thus assumes that the same interpretive procedure can be successfully applied to a variety of "texts." A "reading" of a book, a play, a film, a painting, an advertisement or an opera follows the same principle so as to decode "true meaning." The specificity of the medium is rarely taken into consideration. Artistic forms of expression are also not differentiated from non-artistic ones. Under this approach the films of Federico Fellini might be interpreted alongside an evening news reports on television, and a Shakespearean sonnet might be interpreted

---

Barthesian textual theory. See David Bordwell, "Historical Poetics of Cinema," *The Cinematic Text: Methods and Approaches*, ed. Barton R. Palmer (New York: AMS Press, 1989), 385-92. For a recent critique of these theoretical approaches see also Noël Carroll, *Mystifying Movies: Fads and Fallacies in Contemporary Film Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

[6] Bordwell, *Making Meaning*, 64-65.

alongside an *Edmonton Sun* love story. All these are "texts" and all communicate "messages." Do such approaches generate knowledge about the cultural artifacts they "read"? Do we learn anything of significance about the cultures which produce these artifacts?

The answer to both questions, in most cases, is a negative one. Cultural artifacts are reduced to test grounds for elaborate theories and are used as pretexts for rhetorical exercises. The rhetorical model adopted by interpretive critics claims that the function of a "reading" is to test an idea about the artifacts' real meaning. Presented as hypothesis, the idea always passes the test because the reading "is a self-confirming demonstration ... No reading on record has ever failed to prove the critic's thesis."[7] The focus on rhetorical process and on the proving the hypothesis causes critics to ignore null and negative instances which, although present in the cultural artifact, may disprove the idea governing the "reading." Thus, a rhetorically conceived "reading" follows the basic premise of classical rhetoric which "is concerned only with persuasion, not truth."[8]

By the same token, "textual reading" as a cross-media activity is concerned with generalizations which seek to explain not only a particular phenomenon but human activity in general. This globalization of meaning often comes from textual features which are the carriers of meaning. "In practice it does not much matter whether critics call such cues signifiers, figures, tropes, emblems, metaphors, or just representations. They all function as symbols."[9]

---

[7] Richard Levin quoted in Bordwell, *Making Meaning*, 214.

[8] Bordwell, *Making Meaning*, 34.

The symbols which enter a "reading" thus form the basis of interpretation. In Edward Branigan's opinion: "one aim of a global interpretation is to propose (new, nondiegetic) contexts in which a fiction may be seen *non*fictionally, that is, seen to have a connection to the ordinary world."[10] As a result, a predictable interpretation too often becomes "the revenge of the intellect upon art ... the compliment that mediocrity pays to genius," to use Susan Sontag's famous conclusion.[11]

Do scholarly activities need to be limited to the interpretation of films? This is obviously not the case. Interpretation should be one of many possible approaches to cinema and, in fact, its value can be incomparable. But interpretation does not explain how specific films have come into being, what historical, economical, social and political agendas have motivated filmmakers. For its part, textual interpretation cannot explain how and why certain devices were used to achieve a desired effect on a consumer in a particular *work of art*.

---

[9] Bordwell, *Making Meaning*, 180.

[10] Edward Branigan, "On the Analysis of Interpretive Language, Part I," *Film Criticism* 17.2-3 (1993), 8.

[11] Susan Sontag, "Against Interpretation," in her *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (New York: Delta, 1966), 7, 9.

This dissertation treats films as *works of art*. This distinction between artistic and non-artistic forms of expression, as first proposed by the Russian Formalists, has certain consequences. Both the production and the reception of a work of art are non-practical, aesthetic activities with a unique set of perceptual requirements.[12] While in our everyday activities we communicate ideas and receive messages from the very simple to the fairly complex we have different expectations from an aesthetic experience. We do not go to see the same opera over and over again simply because we want to hear its message. We are affected by its voices, its sets and costumes, and enchanted by its music. Similarly we go to the movies in order to be entertained, thrilled, or frightened. In other words, we expect a film to affect our feelings and emotions. By the same token, we are disappointed and bored by films which may try to communicate important ideas but do not affect our emotions. As Kristin Thompson points out:

> The spectator is involved on the levels of perception, emotion, and cognition, all of which are inextricably bound up together. As Goodman puts it, "in aesthetic experience *the emotions function cognitively*. The work of art is comprehended through the feelings as well as

---

[12] Kristin Thompson, *Breaking the Glass Armor: Neoformalist Film Analysis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 8.

through the senses."[13]

This may be especially true for Dovzhenko, who perceived his work in cinema as an artistic activity, and whose critics describe his films as "designed to appeal on the emotional level."[14]

This dissertation sets itself the modest goal of studying the devices in Dovzhenko's films, which produce an emotional effect in the viewer and which elicit the designation of "poetic cinema" so often applied to them. I view such devices, however, as being determined by historical conditions and cultural conventions. In Dovzhenko's case historical conditions included the Ukrainian revolution, the civil war and the cultural policies of Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s. The cultural conventions of his films, on the other hand, are not limited to Ukrainian art of the time but encompass the conventions of the cinematic medium in the Soviet Union as well as around the world. The delineation of such tasks has traditionally fallen within the domain of poetics.

As a methodology, *historical poetics* applied to cinema is a relatively new concept. It has been advanced mainly in the works of David Bordwell. The methodology is closely related to that of the Formalist school of thought of the 1920s, originally devised for the study of literature. For this reason the *historical poetics* of cinema shares many common premises with neoformalist approaches as elaborated by Kristin Thompson.[15] Poetics, of course, has a long tradition in literary studies and is often designated as the "science of literature". As Lubomír Doležel summarizes:

---

[13] Thompson, 10.

[14] Karel Reisz and Gavin Millar, *The Technique of Film Editing* (New York: Hasting House, 1968), 61.

> As a research tradition, however, poetics does not follow the undulating pattern of cultural change. Rather, it cultivates a logical and epistemological continuity by constantly examining its conceptual system and its methodological principles.[16]

When speaking about poetics, one should bear in mind that it does not aspire to be a theory of a medium but rather a set of principles guiding the study of a medium. Thus, poetics is not governed by any one dogma like those accepted by scholars of the SLAB inclination.

Scholarly approaches to cinema focus either on the approach itself or on their subject of study. Both the *historical poetics* of cinema and the neoformalist approach are concerned with the phenomena they study and choose approaches best suited to the subject. In practice, this means that claims made during analysis should be "theoretically defined, open-ended, corrigible and falsifiable."[17] Such research is not so much a goal oriented rhetorical activity but a learning process with room for reflection upon itself. For me research is as much about looking for answers as about finding them. With universal theories we produce the illusion of finding all encompassing answers, and thus reduce the learning process and the challenge of thorough research to bare minimums.

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[15] See Thompson, 3-46.

[16] Lubomír Doležel, *Occidental Poetics: Tradition and Progress* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 5. The concepts of the "science of literature" and the "science of cinema" do not exist in English language scholarship as they do in Ukrainian and German. For example, *literaturoznavstvo* or *Literaturwissenschaft* describe the poetics of literature and *kinoznavstvo*, the poetics of cinema.

The *historical poetics* of cinema broadly defines scholarly tasks by actively pursuing answers to the following questions:

> 1) What are the principles according to which films are constructed and by means of which they achieve particular effects?
> 2) How and why have these principles arisen and changed in particular empirical circumstances?[18]

These are questions I will ask in analyzing Dovzhenko's films. Answering them requires a close examination of the specific circumstances in which the films were made. These circumstances are reflected in the topical nature of the films, their style and their effect on audiences of their time. The range of artistic choices available to Dovzhenko was limited by determinable circumstances. These need to be defined in order to explain, rather than explicate, his films.[19]

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[17] Bordwell, "Historical Poetics," 379.

[18] Bordwell, "Historical Poetics," 371.

[19] See Bordwell, "Historical Poetics," 374-75. After Bordwell, I assume that, like many sciences, historical poetics has "*ex post facto* explanatory power" and aims at

Following the Formalists, I assume that the creation of a work of art involves predominantly deliberate actions and is governed by a historically definable set of rules. In this respect Dovzhenko's films reflect the rules governing filmmaking during the late 1920s. In addition to these rules the director and other creative personnel, most notably the cameramen and art directors, impose on a film their own ideas about art which can be studied in some detail. Bordwell summarizes this intentionality in art as follows:

> [M]ost textual effects are the result of deliberate and founding choices, and these affect form, style, and different sorts of meaning. Just as a poet's use of iambic pentameter or sonnet form is unlikely to be involuntary, so the filmmaker's decisions about camera placement, performance, or editing constitute relatively stable creative acts whose situational logic can be investigated.[20]

I also see a film's viewers as active individuals contributing to a work's effect. Unlike current psychoanalytic and Marxist studies, which reduce viewers to passive "subjects" manipulated by the media, I assume that viewers go through a series of activities in the process of perception. Some of these activities are physiological, some are learned and have become habitual, and others depend on conscious mental processes.[21]

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understanding phenomena.

[20] Bordwell, *Making Meaning*, 269.

[21] See Thompson, 26-28.

Writings on cinema, both theoretical and critical, on occasion provide feedback to filmmakers; their effect on the creator can be discerned in subsequent films. For some directors such writings serve as an opportunity to supply critics with elements they will easily recognize while writing about film. For other authors, it is an occasion to challenge predominant attitudes towards the medium. Throughout this dissertation I will make references to a particular theoretical work on cinema which summarizes knowledge on the art of filmmaking during the period when Dovzhenko made his trilogy. I cannot ascertain whether Dovzhenko was directly influenced by this work, although the possibility does exist. Instead I propose to look at this work as a source of knowledge on cinema, as well as a compilation of beliefs about the medium which the artistic community in Ukraine shared during the late 1920s.

The work in question is a virtually unknown book on film theory by the Ukrainian theoretician Leonid Skrypnyk. Published in 1928, his *Sketches on the Theory of Cinema Art*[22] was one of the first attempts to formulate a systematic theory of cinema as an art form. Its greatest achievement was the integration of existing, albeit disparate, theories of film with the objective of a balanced presentation of all the elements constituting the art of motion pictures. Skrypnyk's work united and balanced the two main veins of film theory long before they had became delineated: Eisenstein's focus on montage and Bazin's attention to the long shot and mise-en-scène.[23] Unlike his predecessors, Skrypnyk did not give precedence to one element of cinema over another but tried to view them all as equal contributors to the art. One of his reviewers stated that the book is "neither Delluc's *Photogénie* nor the works of Béla Balázs... It is not the desire to introduce one or another idea for discussion. [Skrypnyk] has no intention of propagating his own theory of cinema or of defending his own school of thought. And in this lies the greatest value of his work for the average reader."[24] Indeed, in comparison with other texts of the time Skrypnyk's work is unparalleled in its clarity and logic of presentation, as well as in its magnitude.[25]

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[22] Leonid Skrypnyk, *Narysy z teorii mystetstva kino* (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1928).

In recognition of the infancy of the medium, Skrypnyk selected two issues which, in his opinion, film theory needed to address. Since a photographic image is the only thing which a viewer "obtains" from a film,[26] Skrypnyk devoted significant attention to this issue, which had thus far been largely ignored in theoretical writings of the time. The nature of the photographic image—defined as an interpretation rather than a reflection of reality—is stressed throughout his discussion of compositional elements. The second, equally important element of cinema is identified as the montage of photographic images. Drawing on the ideas of less well-known Soviet theoreticians, Skrypnyk proposed montage lines which needed to be differentiated in order to understand the montage phenomenon.

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[23] See, for example, Brian Henderson, "Two Types of Film Theory," in his *A Critique of Film Theory* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1980), 16-31. It should be noted that Eisenstein's contribution to film theory before 1929 was limited to the idea of "montage attractions."

[24] Dmytro Buz'ko, "Leonid Skrypnyk: Narysy z istorii kino," *Zhyttia i revolutsiia* no. 9 (1928), 190.

[25] For an overview of Skrypnyk's book see my article "The Theoretical Past of Cinema: Introducing Ukrainian Film Theory of the 1920s," *Film Criticism* 20.1-2 (1995-96), 67-77.

Skrypnyk's perspective on cinema may be called synthetic. However, it is not the syntheticism of the opera. For Skrypnyk, the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* of the opera merely combines elements from various art forms into an algebraic sum. Conversely, cinema constitutes an entirely new form which, as a whole, has nothing in common with any of its components. This fact alone makes Skrypnyk's theory one of the very first structuralist approaches in the history of film theory.

Very few scholars are familiar with Skrypnyk's work and his legacy is little known even in his native Ukraine.[27] There are several reasons why Skrypnyk did not make a significant impact on the development of film theory at home or abroad. I believe that the quality of his work is not an issue. Skrypnyk was ignored because he was strictly a theoretician, rather than a filmmaker *and* a theorist. For this reason, his writings were not considered to be on par with those by Pudovkin, Kuleshov, Eisenstein and Vertov.

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[26] Like many of his contemporaries Skrypnyk saw the artistic potential of cinema in terms of technical limitations of the time, that is, black and white and silent films.

The tendency to ignore the writings of non-practitioners resulted in serious omissions from the history of cinematic thought. The best example here would be the work of Semën Timoshenko, which had a significant influence on most Soviet theoreticians, including Eisenstein, and on the German theorist, Rudolf Arnheim.[28] Moreover, interest in the Russian Formalists did not originate with their writings on cinema but as a result of the credibility they gained by contributing significantly to literary theory.[29] Generally speaking, during the formative period of film theory, certain theoreticians were granted preeminence over others. This status remains unchallenged to this day, even though—often—they have been credited for work which they themselves did not originate.

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[27] No Russian source mentions Skrypnyk. In Ukrainian, Skrypnyk's theory is discussed cursorily in Olena Shupyk's *Stanovlennia ukrains'koho radians'koho kinoznavstva* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1977), and in Akademiia Nauk Ukrains'koi RSR, *Istoriia ukrains'koho radians'koho kino*, vol. 1 (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1986).

[28] Semën Timoshenko, *Iskusstvo kino i montazh fil'ma: opyt vvedeniia v teoriiu i estetiku kino* (Leningrad: Academia, 1926). Rudolf Arnheim's influential *Film als Kunst* was originally published in German in 1932.

[29] See *Poetika kino*, ed. B. Eikhenbaum (Moskva-Leningrad: Kinopechat', 1927; reprinted by Berkeley Slavic Specialties, 1984) available in two English translations: Herbert Eagle,

This, however, is only one of the factors that have contributed to Skrypnyk's relative anonymity. A combination of historical and personal tragedies also need to be taken into account. The details of Skrypnyk's life are sparse.[30] He died of tuberculosis in 1929, at the age of 36, only a year after his *Sketches on the Theory of Cinema Art* was published. But more cataclysmic factors prevented the propagation of his ideas among the intellectual community. At approximately the time of his book's publication, the communists launched an open attack on Formalist ideas. His book received very limited attention from reviewers because all its potential supporters were struggling for their own survival. In Ukraine, the appearance of Skrypnyk's book coincided roughly with a period of intensified attacks on those members of the intelligentsia, who had been responsible for the Ukrainian cultural renaissance of the 1920s and with whom Skrypnyk was closely

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Russian Formalist Film Theory (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1981) and *The Poetics of Cinema*, ed. Richard Taylor, Russian Poetics in Translation, vol. 9 (Oxford: RPT Publications, 1982).

[30] See Oleh Ilnyts'kyi [Ilnytzkyj], "Leonid Skrypnyk: Intelihent i futuryst," *Sučasnist'* no. 10 (1984), 7-11.

associated.[31] The majority of Skrypnyk's friends and associates were executed around 1937 as "enemies of the people" or "bourgeois nationalists."

Throughout the 1920s Skrypnyk was a close ally of the Ukrainian Futurists and a regular contributor of fiction, theory and criticism to their periodicals. This association was no less detrimental to Skrypnyk's credibility. He was the author of an experimental novel *Intelihent* (The Intellectual, 1927) which depicts an imagined film that is concurrently analyzed and criticized. These two narratives are distinguished by different typefaces and separated by intertitles. The story is a deliberate attempt to compile the cinematic, predominantly melodramatic, cliches of the time.[32] It is, to my knowledge, one of the first attempts to write a novel directly influenced by cinema.

Skrypnyk's interest in cinema developed quite differently from that of other theoreticians. Trained as an engineer in Kiev, Skrypnyk took part in aviation experiments in Moscow and built railroads throughout the Russian Empire. During the

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[31] On the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the period see Myroslav Shkandrij, *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation: The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992).

[32] Leonid Skrypnyk, *Intelihent* (Kharkiv: Proletarii, 1929).

1920s he ran a film laboratory at the Odessa VUFKU studio[33] and worked as a writer, critic, editor and theoretician for several Futurist publications. His interest in cinema was not shaped by literature but by photography. Skrypnyk wrote and published the first Ukrainian photographer's handbook in 1927.[34] This work, as well as his theory of cinema, testify to his extensive knowledge of the professional literature in several languages.

There is no documented evidence that Dovzhenko was familiar with Skrypnyk's formal theory of cinema or that the two men knew and influenced each other's ideas.[35] Both of them worked at the same time in different departments of the Odessa film studio. Skrypnyk did not participate in the artistic aspects of creation. The most plausible connection would be their mutual friends among the Ukrainian Futurists. In the Futurist journal, *Nova generatsiia*, throughout 1927 and 1928 Skrypnyk published theoretical essays which Dovzhenko might have read.

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[33] Vseukrains'ke foto-kino upravlinnia (All-Ukrainian Photo-Cinema Administration) had a monopoly of film production and distribution in Ukraine during the 1920s.

[34] Leonid Skrypnyk, *Poradnyk fotohrafa: Praktyka fotohrafuvannia na soliakh sribla*, (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1927).

[35] Before his death Skrypnyk saw only *Zvenyhora* which he mentions in his book. See also his review of the film, Leonid Skrypnyk, "*Zvenyhora* O. Dovzhenka," *Nova generatsiia* no. 3 (1927), 56-58.

Inasmuch as Skrypnyk's work reflects the concerns voiced by the avant-garde film community to which Dovzhenko belonged, I propose to look at Dovzhenko's films by addressing issues that the Ukrainian theoretician found especially important. For this reason, my organization of some of the material in this dissertation, particularly chapters two and four, follows Skrypnyk's arrangement.

The chapter titled "Background and Context" is a re-examination of Alexander Dovzhenko's biography up to 1930. Its main goal is to clarify aspects of Dovzhenko's life which, for various reasons, were avoided by his biographers or treated inaccurately. I believe that events of Dovzhenko's life and their historical context offer relevant information for a discussion of his films. For example, I focus on Dovzhenko's activities during the Ukrainian revolution and civil war because they are crucial to the understanding of *Zvenyhora* and *Arsenal*. Similarly, Dovzhenko's training and his involvement in Ukrainian artistic communities provide a key to the style of his films.

Chapters two, three and four are analytical in nature and directly address issues of style and composition in Dovzhenko's silent films. Chapter two, "Photographic Images," groups problems related to cinematographic material. Following Skrypnyk's example, I assemble the external and internal compositional elements of Dovzhenko's films. These elements, in turn, assist in the creation of photographic images which, as montage elements, are the primary materials for making a film. The chapter includes a discussion of elements as disparate as acting for film and the rhythmic composition of frames. Rather than imposing a contemporary way of seeing these elements, I try to reconstruct the logic behind their use during the 1920s.

Chapter three, "A Compromise with Literature?," addresses the neglected theoretical issue of silent film intertitles. By examining avant-garde trends in Western Europe and the dominant practices of the time, I consider intertitles in Dovzhenko's films as an example of the artistic use of this device shortly before it became obsolete. Because the chapter deals with a cinematic element which is absent from the modern viewing experience its theoretical relevance is explained at length.

Chapter four explains how the elements discussed in the previous two chapters are united. Titled "Montage of Attractions, or the Attraction to Montage" it attempts to do justice to the most important cinematic device of the era. I outline the views on montage in Dovzhenko's time, most notably those of Timoshenko and Skrypnyk, to show how the issue was treated before Eisenstein's theoretical views on the subject were known. The montage tradition in the Soviet cinema of the 1920s (as it later became known in film studies) paid unparalleled attention to this issue. I examine how our understanding of montage differs from the views of Dovzhenko and his peers on the subject. I analyze the use of montage in Dovzhenko's films and compare it with the technique of other Soviet masters as well as with the dominant editing practices of the film industry of the time. At the time, montage also included issues that later became known in film studies as narratology. Consequently Dovzhenko's storytelling skills and techniques are discussed in this chapter as well.

To avoid lengthy descriptions of scenes from the films and minimize the injustice of verbal descriptions of visual phenomena, I have prepared three appendices which give shot by shot descriptions of the three films. Beside the description of each shot's visual content the appendices also describe properties such as camera distance, peculiarities of framing or direction of movement. Within the text references to appendices are provided in brackets. *Zvenyhora* (Appendix I) is abbreviated as Z, *Arsenal* (Appendix II) as A, and *Zemlia* (Appendix III) as E, following the English translation of the title. For example, (E: 185) refers to the 185th shot in Appendix III and (Z: 873-927) refers to a sequence of shots in *Zvenyhora* contained in Appendix I. Of course, no description can substitute an actual viewing of the films; I aim simply to assist the reader in locating images discussed in the text.

Inasmuch as I have already published a complete bibliography of Dovzhenko,[36] which contains references to nearly 2500 books and articles by and about him, I append only a selective bibliography here. It is limited to the major secondary sources of historical and theoretical nature which were consulted during the preparation of this manuscript.

The Library of Congress System of Transliteration from Cyrillic alphabets is used throughout this dissertation. In personal names the complete endings have been preserved in place of commonly used abbreviations: Shklovskii and Ianovs'kyi instead of Shklovsky and Ianovsky. Names beginning with Ia, Ie and Iu are transliterated according to the LC system and appear where Ya, Ye and Yu are often found: Iurii instead of Yurii or Yury. Ukrainian and Russian "soft signs" are transliterated as apostrophes. The Russian "hard sign" and the Ukrainian "apostrof" have been omitted.

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[36] Bohdan Y. Nebesio, *Alexander Dovzhenko: A guide to Published Sources* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1995).

I. Background and Context

Historical poetics examines a work of art as an historical artifact that reflects the state of artistic creation at a given time. History is understood here as both synchronous and diachronous. In order to understand the choices available to an artist at a given time, a poetician must know and consider the basic facts of the artist's life. Artists create within discrete social and political environments which affect their works. The chapter at hand endeavours to provide an overview of the conditions which led to the creation of *Zvenyhora*, *Arsenal* and *Earth*. It serves as a summary of issues which will be discussed in much greater detail in the film analyses of subsequent chapters. This outline includes Alexander Dovzhenko's biography and his early career but does not venture further than 1930. Dovzhenko's silent film career is set against the social and political situation in Ukraine. His silent trilogy is seen within the context of the arts in Ukraine in late 1920s.

Vita

In the Soviet Union during the last four decades many attempts have been made to write Dovzhenko's biography.[1] None of these, however, seems to be complete and most raise more questions than they answer. They tend to stress those aspects of Dovzhenko's life which portray him as a great Soviet artist and avoid issues which do not support this argument. Dovzhenko's published autobiographies have been edited accordingly.[2] Even the *complete* version of his autobiography, written during Stalin's dictatorship, conforms to the party line and does not clarify those periods which were avoided by Dovzhenko's official biographers. Western critics, relying heavily on Russian language sources, generally offer no new information.[3] Consequently they repeat certain facts and reinforce many myths.

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[1] The most representative are: Rostislav Iurenev, *Aleksandr Dovzhenko* (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1959), Serhii Plachynda, *Oleksandr Dovzhenko: zhyttia i tvorchist'* (Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1964), A. Mar'iamov, *Dovzhenko* (Moskva: Molodaia Gvardiia, 1968), Mykola Kutsenko, *Storinky zhyttia i tvorchosti O. P. Dovzhenka* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1975), Romil Sobolev, *Aleksandr Dovzhenko* (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1980). For a complete bibliography of works by and about Dovzhenko see Bohdan Y. Nebesio, *Alexander Dovzhenko: A Guide to Published Sources* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1995)

[2] Marco Carynnyk discusses various editions of Dovzhenko's autobiographies in "Alexander Dovzhenko's 1939 Autobiography" *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19.1 (1994), 5-27.

[3] See for example, Luda and Jean Schnitzer, *Alexandre Dovjenko* (Paris: Editions Universitaires, 1966); Barthélemy Amengual, *Alexandre Dovjenko* (Paris: Seghers, 1970) and Vance Kepley, Jr., *In the Service of the State: The Cinema of Alexander Dovzhenko* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986)

Some aspects of Dovzhenko's life have received very little critical attention but may contribute to a better understanding of Dovzhenko's films. This work is not a biographical project; it will not provide all the missing data. It will, however, establish certain missing links between Dovzhenko's films and fill some gaps in his official biographies. There are many unanswered questions on the formative period in Dovzhenko's life. Several issues emerging from readings of Dovzhenko's Soviet biographies will be addressed—including Dovzhenko's class origin; his participation and loyalties during the Revolution and the Civil War; his fine arts training in Germany; his participation in Ukrainian artistic life; and the factors surrounding his decision to become a film director.

* * *

Alexander Dovzhenko was born on September 12, 1894 (August 30 by the old calendar) in the village of Sosnytsia, Chernihiv gubernia. His family has been traced to a Cossack officer who settled in the village in the mid-eighteenth century.[4] Cossack status was granted by Polish kings until the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654. For non-Catholic Ukrainians, this was the only noble status to which they could aspire in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Under Russian rule, the Cossacks enjoyed at first the privileges accorded to the nobility. These, however, were gradually revoked and removed altogether after the Battle of Poltava in 1709. Cossack status also meant land ownership and considerable wealth. As a class the Cossacks declined under Russian rule; many of them became simple peasants. Such was the plight of Dovzhenko's ancestors, who in the nineteenth century were left with little other than their glorious traditions.[5]

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[4] Iurii Vynohrads'kyi, "Rid Oleksandra Dovzhenka," *Polumiane zhyttia: Spohady pro Oleksandra Dovzhenka* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1973), 122-23.

Education held special importance for the Cossacks. Their level of education was fairly high throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but declined considerably after the loss of Ukrainian autonomy in the late eighteenth century.[6] The tightening of laws regulating corvée and, subsequently, imperial policies restricting the use of Ukrainian had serious repercussions for the Ukrainian population at large. By the end of the nineteenth century literacy among Ukrainians in the Russian Empire was the lowest.[7] Dovzhenko's family symbolically reflects this transition: whereas his grandfather Semén was literate, his father Petro was not.

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[5] For the historical background on the decline of Ukrainian autonomy see Zenon Kohut, *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s-1830s* (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1988).

[6] On education in early-modern Ukraine see Natalia Pylypiuk, "The Humanistic School and Ukrainian Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century" (Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1989); Alexander Sydorenko *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1977) and David Saunders, *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750-1850* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1985).

The level of wealth of Dovzhenko's family is difficult to ascertain. There is, however, enough evidence to challenge most of the Soviet biographers, who, in an effort to establish the filmmaker's humble origins, often make contradictory statements. Ivan Koshelivets' cites several such contradictions.[8] 1) Dovzhenko's father owned land, a house, horses and other livestock. As he and his horses were regularly hired by business people, the horses must have been of good quality. 2) Descriptions of Dovzhenko's house as a typical, poor, neglected pre-revolutionary peasant dwelling are not consistent with photographic records[9] of a relatively modern and well-maintained structure which would have been considered better than the average by contemporary standards. 3) Most peasants could not afford to send their children to schools in cities. Peasant children went to village schools if they were not required to help their parents in the fields. In Dovzhenko's family, two of fourteen children survived and both were sent to urban schools. Alexander attended a teacher's college and his sister Polina became a physician. 4) Even if Dovzhenko's biographers present his father as an impoverished peasant, Soviet authorities were of a different opinion in 1932 when Petro Dovzhenko was expelled from a collective farm. Although the details of his expulsion are sketchy, one should remember that the struggle with the "kulaks" had reached one of its highest points in that year. He was obviously perceived by other farmers as being wealthy.

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[7] Attributed to Lenin and quoted in Ivan Koshelivets', *Oleksander Dovzhenko: sproba tvorchoi biohrafii* (n.p.: Suchasnist', 1980), 15.

[8] Koshelivets', 18-21.

[9] Reproduced in, for example, *Polumiane zhyttia: spohady pro Oleksandra Dovzhenka*, ed Iuliia Solntseva (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1973), between pages 128 and 129.

The above evidence may seem irrelevant. It does not change the fact that Dovzhenko came from a peasant background. On the other hand, this information is crucial to an understanding of Dovzhenko's *Zemlia* and the "class struggle" of the 1930s. Hard working peasants who, like Dovzhenko's father, had managed to accumulate some wealth, were declared "enemies of the people" and driven to death by forced famine, executed or perished in labour camps at the end of 1930s.[10]

Dovzhenko received his education in Sosnytsia in a two-level elementary school and at a teachers' college in Hlukhiv, some 400 kilometres east of Kyiv. This choice of profession was dictated by practical considerations. The college was one of the few institutions that accepted peasant children, and secondly, it had promised the young Dovzhenko a scholarship.

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[10] See for example, Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (London: Hutchinson, 1986).

This scholarship never materialized. Alexander's father had to sacrifice a piece of land to pay for his son's education. In June of 1914 Dovzhenko graduated with a teacher's diploma. He was required to teach in a higher elementary school for four years to repay the government for his education. Little is known about his years at the teacher's institute. Dovzhenko commented on his experience as a teacher in the following manner:

> They were making us into Russifiers of the country. In the Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn regions later we even received extra pay, eighteen rubles a month, I think, for Russifying the countryside.[11]

In 1914 Dovzhenko was appointed to teach in Zhytomyr, a city of about 70 thousand, some 150 kilometres west of Kyiv. He taught physics, biology, geography, history and physical education. Dovzhenko was not drafted to serve in the First World War as he had been declared unfit for military service.

In 1917 Dovzhenko married Varvara Krylova (1896-1959), also a teacher at the school. In the summer of that year he underwent an operation, which—according to Krylova—was completed by an inexperienced provincial surgeon and left Dovzhenko with complications for the rest of his life.[12] That very year Dovzhenko found a teaching job in one of Kyiv's elementary schools and registered as a student at the Kyiv

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[11] A. Dovzhenko, "Autobiography" trans. Marco Carynnyk *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19.1 (1994): 10.

[12] *Polumiane zhyttia*, 143.

Commercial Institute. It is not known whether he took any courses at the institute.[13] Sometime in 1919 he quit both his teaching job and his studies.

The years from 1917 to 1923 represent the most controversial and the least researched part of Dovzhenko's life. Print records pertaining to this, in my opinion, crucial period in the formation of his artistic world view, are scarce. It was at this time when he began to actively pursue his interest in painting. His experiences, which included going through a variety of political prisms, strongly influenced the formal structure of his films.

The revolution in Ukraine took a different turn from events in St. Petersburg.[14] For Ukraine, national liberation was as important as social revolution. These supposedly irreconcilable pursuits informed the agenda of Ukrainian intellectuals for at least a decade after the abolition of the monarchy in the Russian empire. Following the February

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[13] Some biographers claim that Dovzhenko became a student at the Kyiv University, a claim which was denied by Dovzhenko's first wife. See Koshelivets', 42-43.

[14] For an overview of the Ukrainian revolution see Chapters 18 and 19 in Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); More detailed accounts are provided in Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1977), John Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920: A Study in Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952) and Jurij Borys, *The Sovietization of Soviet Ukraine 1917-1923: The Communist Doctrine and Practice of National Self-Determination* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980).

Revolution in St. Petersburg and the collapse of Tsarist rule, a council including several democratic parties, which were leftist in orientation, was formed in Kyiv. Known as the Central Rada, it became the government in Ukraine. With time it also received support from Ukrainian peasant and worker congresses. It received partial recognition from the Russian Provisional Government.

The Bolsheviks assumed power in Russia in October of 1917 but their support in Ukraine was minimal and they did not succeed in establishing themselves securely within Ukrainian territory. Hostile to the Central Rada and to the national aspirations of Ukrainians, the Bolsheviks had only ten percent of popular support. After failing to gain control over the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv, the Bolsheviks denounced the Central Rada as "enemy of the people" and moved eastward to Kharkiv where they proclaimed the creation of a Soviet Ukrainian Republic.

The Central Rada's failure to establish a strong army resulted in the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine and the capturing of Kyiv in January of 1918. Concurrently, the Central Rada managed to sign a treaty with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk. Germany and Austria divided Ukraine into separate spheres of influence and forced the Bolsheviks to flee. The Germans disbanded the Central Rada and replaced it in April 1918 with a government led by one of Ukraine's largest landowners, Pavlo Skoropadsky. Skoropadsky assumed the title of "hetman," which was associated with the Cossack leaders of the past. In addition to the German army, support for the Hetmanate came from landowners and Russian anti-bolshevik forces, which hoped to regroup in Ukraine before returning to Russia. Opposition to Skoropadsky grew rapidly and Ukrainian leftist forces, both socialist and communist, received the popular support necessary to overthrow the hetman. When, in the fall of 1918, it became apparent that the Central Powers were losing the war, Skoropadsky courted the support of the victorious Ententé by appointing a new cabinet consisting of Russian monarchists and proclaiming the union of Ukraine with a non-Bolshevik Russia. When the Bolshevik insurrection against the Hetman failed, Ukrainians opposed to Skoropadsky reorganised and united into an insurrectionary government, the Directory, led by Symon Petliura and Volodymyr Vynnychenko. Backed by strong popular support they negotiated the evacuation of the Germans and entered Kyiv on December 14, 1918, proclaiming the re-establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. An extended period of anarchy followed.

During this time at least six different armies operated on Ukrainian territory: the Ukrainians, the Bolsheviks, the Whites, the Ententé[15], the Poles and various anarchist armies.

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[15] In December 1918 the Entente, primarily the French, landed a force of about sixty thousand men at Black Sea ports to assist the White forces in restoring "one, indivisible

In one historian's opinion: "as regular armies fought for control of cities and railroad lines and partisan forces dominated the countryside, the only regime that was recognized throughout Ukraine was the rule of the gun."[16] In January 1919 the Directory united with the newly formed West Ukrainian National Republic in Galicia, a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[17] In February 1919 the Directory was forced out of Kyiv by the Bolsheviks and by spring it controlled only a small territory near the town of Kamianets'-Podilskyi. The retreating Galician army united with the Directory and reached Kyiv by the end of August 1919, while the Bolsheviks returned to Russia to fight the advancing White forces on several fronts. At the same time Kyiv was captured by the Whites under General Denikin. Ukrainians found themselves under attack by the Whites, who treated Ukrainians as traitors to Russia, by the Bolsheviks who had regrouped, and by Poles and Rumanians. Disintegrated Ukrainian forces were forced to join their enemies' camps. The Galicians sided with the Whites and

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Russia." They were forced to leave Ukraine in April of 1919.

[16] Subtelny, 360.

[17] The main concern of the West Ukrainian National Republic was to fight Poles, who a as minority, laid claims to Eastern Galicia. Despite fighting simultaneously with the Germans, Czechs and Lithuanians who did not want to become a part of the Polish state, the Poles managed to resist the numerous but poorly organized Ukrainian forces. The fate of Eastern Galicia was decided later at the Paris Peace Conference when it was handed over to Poland by the victorious Entente.

Petliura sought refuge in Poland. In a move that enraged the Galicians, Petliura signed a pact with the Poles in April of 1920 and renounced all Ukrainian claims to Eastern Galicia. With the assistance of the Poles he took Kyiv in May of the same year, but failed to gain the support of the Ukrainian peasantry who were hostile to the Poles. Consequently the Poles signed a peace treaty with the Soviets and Petliura was abandoned and forced to accept Polish internment at the end of 1920.

By that time the Bolsheviks, including Lenin, had realized that their policies in Ukraine were ineffectual. They needed the popular support of Ukrainians. Promises to respect the Ukrainian language and culture accompanied the Bolsheviks' proclamation of a Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic in December of 1919. Backed by a strong army the Bolsheviks continued to fight various partisan groups[18] until the end of 1921. The Bolsheviks used also different, gentler tactics to win peasants by allowing them to retain their land. This third Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine succeeded; they gained control of the country at the end of 1921. Only by guaranteeing a certain degree of autonomy to non-Russian regions of the former Russian Empire were the Bolsheviks able to create the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on December 30, 1922.

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[18] One of the most famous of such groups was led by the anarchist Nestor Makhno in the south. Another, in the Kyiv region, was led by Iurii Tiutiunnyk, the writer of *Zvenyhora*.

What were Dovzhenko's activities during the years of revolution and civil war in Ukraine? What were his political sympathies and loyalties? Dovzhenko's biographers and the filmmaker himself have shied away from direct answers to these questions. Their accounts are often contradictory and, even more often, include fabrications to present Dovzhenko in a positive light. The rewriting of biographies of politicians, party leaders and artists to suit the current political situation was common in the Soviet Union.

Dovzhenko's autobiography is the main source of information about his activities during the Ukrainian revolution. It is especially valuable in describing his political and ideological sympathies during this period. Interestingly, the account is written as a confession to ideological transgressions he committed in his youth. Although intended for a Stalinist reader in 1939, Dovzhenko's repentance is a portrait of a somewhat confused young man caught amidst overwhelming historical changes. His passages about the revolution give a rare glimpse into the philosophy to which many members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Dovzhenko's generation subscribed. As Ivan Koshelivets' suggests:

> Dovzhenko's autobiography is a brilliant and unique self-characterization of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the time, who openly admits his fascination with the February revolution which promised freedom to Ukraine. But from that time until 1939 there took place the trial of the SVU,

> the Postyshev and Yezhov terrors, which cumulatively destroyed the flower of Ukrainian intelligentsia, precisely because it was fascinated with the national idea. Those who survived had to repent and Dovzhenko does it with disarming naivete.[19]

What did Dovzhenko like about the revolutionary changes of 1917?

A statement by Dovzhenko, often disregarded by biographers, seems the key to understanding his position during the revolution. He wrote: "Thus I entered the revolution through the wrong door."[20] As an admission of "guilt," this statement challenges the assumption made by biographers who maintain that Dovzhenko sided with the Bolsheviks from the early days of the October revolution and that he fought on the side of the Red Army during the civil war.[21] Dovzhenko's statements about his participation in the war are usually uncritically interpreted as Bolshevik actions but Dovzhenko never refers to them as Bolshevik. For example, he states in his autobiography:

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[19] Koshelivets', 45. Translations in the text, unless otherwise stated, are mine.

[20] "Autobiography," 12.

[21] Taking his cue from Soviet biographers Vance Kepley, Jr. states: "...Dovzhenko enlisted as a volunteer in the Red Army and participated in the civil war from 1918-1920. He served in a Ukrainian division under the command of civil war hero Nikolai Shchors, whom Dovzhenko would eventually glorify in his 1939 film." "The Fiction Films of Alexander Dovzhenko: A Historical Reading," Ph. D. dissertation (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978), 46. Interestingly, the statement on which this assumption was made does not appear in the original 1939 Autobiography but was added to some published versions of the autobiography. Kutsenko does not mention any documents which would support this claim. Dovzhenko was exempt from military service before and after WW I and according to his wife had serious health problems resulting from an operation in 1917. Furthermore, the inclusion of Shchors suggests a late

> I called out slogans at meetings and was as happy as a dog that had broken its chain, sincerely believing that now all men were brothers, that everything was completely clear; that the peasants had the land, that workers had the factories, the teachers had the schools, the doctors had the hospitals, *the Ukrainians had Ukraine*, the Russians had Russia; that the next day the whole world would find out about this and, struck with our vision, would do likewise.[22]

It is very unlikely that such slogans were shouted during a Bolshevik meeting; a Ukraine governed by Ukrainians was simply not on the Bolshevik agenda at that time.

Biographers cite another episode from Dovzhenko's autobiography to prove his early revolutionary activities and imply his Bolshevik sympathies. Dovzhenko claims that in 1918 he was a leader and organiser of a rally against the Hetmanate and Pavlo Skoropadsky in Kyiv. If we assume that such activities took place (there is no evidence to support the claim) it is very unlikely that it was on behalf of the Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik rebellion against the Hetman was unsuccessful and lacked popular support. Ukrainian opposition to the Hetman was strong and resulted in the overthrow of the

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1930s mystification when a cult of this relatively unknown Red Army commander was created. See Oleksandr Fesenko, "Iak tvoryvsia mif pro 'ukrains'koho Chapaieva'," *Literaturna Ukraina* 17 August 1989.

[22] "Autobiography," 11 (emphasis added).

regime and the formation of the Directory.[23]

Dovzhenko's revolutionary ideas coincided with the agenda of Ukrainian leftist groups who supported the Central Rada.[24] Dovzhenko, apparently, considered the Rada to be the revolutionary government of Ukraine. Since the Rada was later declared "bourgeois nationalist" he states:

> It seemed to me then that the Ukrainian bourgeois separatist movement was the most revolutionary movement, the farthest to the left and therefore, the best: the more to the right the worse; the more to the left the better.[25]

Although he acknowledges his "misunderstanding" of revolutionary ideas, Dovzhenko manages to present his own, subjective assessment of the revolutionary movement in Ukraine.

Rather than condemning the Ukrainian national movement—as was expected of him in 1939—Dovzhenko seems apologetic and provides reasons for his decisions of twenty years earlier. In justifying his commitment to the national idea, Dovzhenko stresses his view of the Ukrainian nation:

> At that time all Ukrainians seemed to me to be especially nice people. It was easy to complain about the years (three hundred!) we had suffered from the damn Russians. We had even forgotten

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[23] Subtelny, 358.

[24] The Central Rada consisted in deputies representing the council of peasants, the council of the military, the council of workers, socialist parties and organizations of national minorities.

[25] "Autobiography," 11.

> Ukrainian and spoke a broken Ukrainian-Russian jargon. This language made me think of all Ukrainians as peasants, or at least descended from peasants, not gentlemen. After all, the gentlemen spoke Russian and wouldn't even dream of speaking Ukrainian. Hence, we had no gentlemen. Hence, everything was all right.[26]

Such strong national sympathies preclude Dovzhenko's support of the first two Russian-dominated Bolshevik invasions of Ukraine. Even if he had sympathized with them on social issues, Lenin's national policy of the time could hardly have appealed to Dovzhenko.

It has been assumed that any artist, such as Dovzhenko, who has been hailed a master of Socialist Realism must have been a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.[27] There is no real evidence that this was the case with Dovzhenko. Soviet encyclopedias, which are always sensitive to the issue of party membership, never mention Dovzhenko's affiliation.[28] We know that Dovzhenko wrote his 1939 autobiography for his application to the Communist party

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[26] "Autobiography," 11.

[27] One of the most striking examples is N. M. Lary's review of *In the Service of the State* by Vance Kepley in which Lary writes that Dovzhenko "was the single leading director to be a member of the Communist Party," *Slavic and East European Journal* 32 (Fall 1988), 487.

[28] *Ukrains'ka Radians'ka Entsyklopedia* (1961 and 1979 editions) and *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*. Apparently, of the four revolutionary Soviet masters—Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Vertov and Dovzhenko—only Pudovkin was listed as a member of the KPSS beginning in 1939.

(which he never submitted).[29] In his autobiography he gives contradictory accounts regarding both the party's name and the time he joined it. "I became a Bolshevik in mid-1919"—he states in order to counterbalance his confession of political immaturity. Four paragraphs later he writes: "early in 1920 I joined the Borotbist[30] party," and later in the same paragraph: "In a few weeks the Borotbist party joined ranks with the CP(B)U, and in this manner I became a member of the CP(B)U."[31] While Dovzhenko's Borotbist membership can be confirmed, his automatic transfer to CP(B)U is dubious. The transfer was not automatic and the Borotbist party members had to apply to become members of the CP(B)U. Many prominent Borotbists chose not to become Bolsheviks.[32] Furthermore, Mykola Kutsenko, who published the most detailed account of Dovzhenko's life using archival documents, and whose accounts are generally very reliable and detailed, does not even mention Dovzhenko's admission to the CP(B)U.[33]

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[29] See addendum to Marco Carynnyk's "Alexander Dovzhenko's 1939 Autobiography," 27.

[30] Named after its weekly *Borot'ba*, the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries-Borotbists originated from the left faction of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. After several mergers with other leftist groups the Borotbists founded the Ukrainian Communist party (of Borotbists). In March 1920 they joined the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine. During the 1930s the Borotbists were persecuted and many were executed. See Iwan Majstrenko, *Borot'bism: A Chapter in the History of Ukrainian Communism*, trans. George S.N. Luckyj (New York: Research Program on the U.S.S.R., 1954).

[31] "Autobiography," 13.

[32] For example, Mykhailo Panchenko (ca. 1884-193?), member of the Borotbists' Central Committee refused to join the Bolsheviks. During the 1920s he became a screenwriter for VUFKU [*Taras Shevchenko* (1926)]. He died in a concentration camp during the 1930s.

Dovzhenko admits that in 1923, due to some bureaucratic blunder, he ceased to be a CP(B)U member. The details of this purportedly unjust expulsion and Dovzhenko's attempts at re-admission are based on the testimony of V. Blakytnyi[34] whose statements could not be verified inasmuch as he died one day after having made them. Dovzhenko's employment with the Ukrainian embassy in Berlin ended in July 1922 most probably because he was not a Bolshevik. He first came into the position during the turbulence of the civil war thanks to his Borotbist contacts but was fired soon after the Bolsheviks investigated his party affiliation. Dovzhenko did manage to stay in Germany on a scholarship for the following year, once again through his Borotbist friends, who had been given control over cultural and educational policies within the Bolshevik government.

Dovzhenko's comments concerning his decision to join the

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[33] Mykola Kutsenko, *Storinky zhyttia i tvorchosti O. P. Dovzhenka* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1975).

[34] Vasyl' Blakytnyi (1894-1925)—political figure, writer, poet and journalist—was one of the founders of the Borotbist party. In 1920 he became a member of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U and editor-in-chief of *Visti VUTsVK*. His works were declared nationalist during the 1930s and his statue in Kharkiv destroyed. A portrait of Blakytnyi by Dovzhenko is reproduced in Inna Zolotoverkhova and Hennadii Konovalov, *Dovzhenko-Khudozhnyk* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1968), 65.

Borotbists[35] and his expulsion from the CP(B)U were fabricated in 1939 to muster evidence of his long commitment to Bolshevik ideas. I am inclined to conclude that Dovzhenko probably never was a member of the Bolshevik party. He was, however, a Communist in the Borotbist sense of the word. Although the Borotbist party existed for only two years, it exerted a very strong influence on the cultural policy of the 1920s. In turn, Dovzhenko's life during the 1920s was very much influenced by his Borotbist connections.

Who were the Borotbists and what did they stand for? Borotbists were first and foremost Communists. During their short existence as a party they leaned strongly towards the Bolsheviks but always with serious reservations. They decided to join the Bolsheviks in April of 1920 to achieve their goal of social revolution and hoping that the nationality question might be resolved later. In order to succeed, the Bolsheviks and the Borotbists needed each other. Popular support for the Borotbists came from the predominantly Ukrainian countryside, while the Bolshevik stronghold was the Russified or Russian proletariat in the cities.

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[35] Dovzhenko writes: "This action, wrong and unnecessary as it was, happened in the following way. I had very much wanted to join the Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Ukraine but considered myself unworthy of crossing its threshold and so joined the Borotbists, as if entering the preparatory class in a *gymnasium*, which the Borotbist party, of course, never was. The very thought of such a comparison seems absurd now." "Autobiography," 13.

On the basis of Dovzhenko's autobiography most biographers conclude that he spent the period from December 1919 to April 1920 in Zhytomyr. While his presence there can be easily explained by his wife residency in that city, these biographers take their cue from Mykhailo Kovalenko who claims that Dovzhenko was in charge of a party school in the town.[36] Even if this claim were true, the school could not have been a Bolshevik establishment because Dovzhenko was not a member of the Bolshevik party. There are, however, further details that undermine this claim. According to Kovalenko, Dovzhenko lectured at the military school at the headquarters of the 44th Riflemen Division. This is yet another attempt to tie Dovzhenko to Mykola Shchors, who was Commander of that division. But Shchors had been killed on August 30, 1919, some time before Dovzhenko supposedly taught at the school. Why would a non-Bolshevik, who had "entered the revolution through the wrong door" be trusted with the education of young Communist soldiers? Such contradictions suggest that this part of Dovzhenko's life was invented to support the Shchors cult.[37]

Recent evidence suggests that in 1919 Dovzhenko was a volunteer with the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, under Petliura, which fought the Bolsheviks. Dovzhenko was arrested in Zhytomyr and tried by the Special Commission on counterrevolution on December 27, 1919.[38] He was found guilty and declared an "enemy of the workers-peasants' Government." He was then sentenced to be jailed at a concentration camp until the end of the civil war, but his sentence was postponed at the request of the local committee of the Borotbist Party.

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[36] Mykhailo Kovalenko, "Idu za Dovzhenkom..." in *Polumiane zhyttia*, 255.

[37] See note 21. Another biographer claims that Dovzhenko worked as an artist for Hubnarosvita (Gubernial People's Education)—a regional government body responsible for education and culture. Oleksandr Hryshchenko, *Z berehiv zacharovanoi Desny* (Kyiv: Molod', 1964), 9-16.

The details of Dovzhenko's trial are sketchy; nonetheless, they discredit the accounts of most biographers. As a member of the UNR Army Dovzhenko fought against the Red Army. Dovzhenko also spent the early months of 1920 in a Zhytomyr jail or concentration camp as an "enemy of the government" and did not have a teaching appointment at the party school. His contacts with the Borotbists were already established by this time, and the party was ready to intervene on his behalf.

Dovzhenko mentions in his autobiography that "during the Hetmanate, when an academy of fine arts—the dream of my life—was established in Kyiv, I enrolled there too." In the following paragraph he writes: "I left the Academy of Fine Arts but continued attending the institute until 1920 or

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[38] "Sprava No. 112: Vypyska z protokolu zasidannia Nadzvychainoi komisii m. Zhytomyra po borot'bi z kontrrevoliutsiieiu, bandytyzmom, spekuliatsiieiu i posadovoiu zlochynnistiu," reprinted in Roman Korohods'kyi, "Znaiuchy ne znaty..." *Suchasnist'* no. 10 (1994), 127-28.

1921..."[39] It is odd that Dovzhenko does not elaborate on his formal training in the fine arts and that biographers show a similar disregard for it, whereas accounts of his schooling at the teachers' college, at a commercial institute and, supposedly, at Kyiv University receive considerable attention. What are the reasons for underplaying the training which prepared Dovzhenko for his profession? Until 1926 Dovzhenko was known only as a graphic artist and painter.

The Ukrainian State Academy of Arts was founded in December of 1917 by the Central Rada and was opened during the Hetmanate. The Bolsheviks closed it in April of 1919, after which classes were held in professors' homes until it was reopened in October of the same year. In 1922-23 the Academy was transformed into the Kyiv Institute of Plastic Arts and a year later into the Kyiv State Art Institute which operates to this day. The teachers at the Academy were well-known pre-revolutionary artists educated in western art academies; they never gained the sympathy of the Bolsheviks. Among the most prominent were Mykhailo Boichuk,[40] Mykola Burachek,[41] Oleksandr

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[39] "Autobiography," 12-13.

[40] Mykhailo Boichuk (1882-1937), monumentalist painter educated in Cracow, Munich, Vienna and Paris. Boichuk taught fresco and mosaic at the Academy. In the mid-1930s he was accused of being an "agent of the Vatican" and executed along with his wife. His works were destroyed.

[41] Mykola Burachek (1871-1942), impressionist painter. Educated in Kyiv and Cracow Burachek worked in the studio of Henri Matisse in Paris. At the Academy he taught landscape

Murashko,[42] Heorhii Narbut[43] and the brothers Vasyl' Krychevs'kyi[44] and Fedir Krychevs'kyi[45]. All of these artists were discredited during the 1930s and, therefore, it is not surprising that Dovzhenko tried to distance himself from them in his autobiography.

During Stalin's terror those associated with Mykhailo Boichuk suffered most. Boichuk's students[46] were the favourite target of the secret police. Very few of those accused of "Boichukism" survived the 1930s. The school of painting inspired by Boichuk combined monumental Byzantine painting,

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painting.

[42] Oleksander Murashko (1875-1919), painter educated in St. Petersburg, Munich and Paris. He taught genre painting at the academy.

[43] Heorhii Narbut (1886-1920), painter and graphic artist educated in St. Petersburg and Munich. He taught graphic design at the academy. Narbut is widely known as a pre-revolutionary Russian artist. In Ukraine he is best known for his designs of book covers, postal stamps and banknotes during the time of Ukrainian independence.

[44] Vasyl' Hryhorovych Krychevs'kyi (1873-1952), art scholar, architect, painter, graphic artist, and set designer; founder and first president of the Ukrainian State Academy of Arts. A self-taught artist, Krychevs'kyi promoted the consolidation of Ukrainian folk art with modernist forms. He served as a consultant and artistic director for 12 films.

[45] Fedir Krychevs'kyi (1879-1947), a painter educated in Moscow and St. Petersburg. He taught genre, historical painting and portraiture at the Academy.

[46] The best known were Ivan Padalka (1894-1937), Tymofii Boichuk (1896-1922), Vasyl Sedliar (1889-1937), Oksana Pavlenko (1895-1991), Mykola Rokyts'kyi (1901-1944), and Kyrylo Hvozdyk (1895-1981).

Ukrainian folk painting as well as modern western trends and tried to orient Ukrainian art towards western traditions of painting. We can assume that Dovzhenko attended classes at the academy from 1918 until the institution was closed by the Bolsheviks in April of 1919. After its reopening in October 1919, the Academy went through many changes in personnel.

Ironically, although his schooling at the Academy has been downplayed, Dovzhenko maintained contact with former professors and students. Vasyl' H. Krychevs'kyi, the first Director of the Academy, was Dovzhenko's artistic director for *Zvenyhora*. His son Vasyl' V. Krychevs'kyi, Dovzhenko's peer at the Academy, was the art director for *Zemlia*. Dovzhenko's brief stay at the Academy resulted in certain artistic influences and personal affiliations which would surface in his films a decade later.

Dovzhenko's return to Kyiv on June 12, 1920 marks the beginning of his long association with Ukrainian Borotbist artists and politicians who supported Ukrainization throughout the 1920s. Several prominent Borotbists became members of the Central Committee of the CP(B)U and managed to secure for themselves cabinet positions within the sphere of culture and education.[47] With their help, Dovzhenko became a Secretary of the Department of People's Education for the Kyiv gubernia where he was responsible for the Department of Arts. During his tenure he also served for a year as a Commissar for the Shevchenko First Theatre of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic (formerly the Bergon'ie Theatre). The theatre was jointly founded in 1919 by the State Drama Theatre and the Young Theatre (Molodyi Teatr) but its directors, Les' Kurbas and O. Zaharov, could not resolve their artistic differences. By the time of Dovzhenko's appointment, most of the prominent personalities of the Young Theatre had left to form other groups.

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[47] The People's Commissars of Education in the early Bolshevik governments were Hnat Mykhailychenko (executed by Denikin's army in 1919), Mykhailo Panchenko, and Hryhorii Hryn'ko—all Borotbists. The post of Secretary of the Kyiv gubernia's CP(B)U Committee was held in 1920 by Borotbist

Iosif Shpinel' became Artistic Director of the Shevchenko Theatre in 1921. Both he and Dovzhenko came together eight years later in Odessa when Shpinel' served as artistic director on Dovzhenko's *Arsenal*.[48] Dovzhenko's acquaintance with Anatol' Petryts'kyi, one of the best known Ukrainian avant-garde artists of the 1920s, also began at that time.[49]

Panas Liubchenko.

[48] *Kinoslovar v dvukh tomakh*, vol. 2, (Moskva: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1970), 956. Also known as Isaak Shpinel' (1892-1980) he also worked on Dovzhenko's *Ivan*. He left Ukraine in 1932 to work for Mosfil'm and later became the Art Director for Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) and *Ivan the Terrible* (1945, 1958).

[49] Anatol' Petryts'kyi (1895-1964), painter and stage designer influenced by cubism and futurism. Educated in Kyiv and Moscow, he designed sets for the Molodyi Theatre in Kyiv and the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow. Petryts'kyi, who designed sets for Shevchenko Theatre in 1920, claims that he saw Dovzhenko's drawings at that time. See I. Zolotoverkhova and

In July of 1921 Dovzhenko was nominated to the post of the Charge d'Affaires at the embassy of the Ukrainian SSR in Warsaw. He moved first to Kharkiv, the capital of Ukraine at that time, and then left with his wife for Warsaw in October of 1921. This appointment proves, once again, that Dovzhenko was well connected to the highly placed Borotbists within the Soviet Ukrainian government. Oleksandr Shums'kyi, a prominent Borotbist, was the Ukrainian Ambassador to Poland at that time.[50] Dovzhenko explains his appointment:

> It turned out that on learning about my love for painting the People's Commissariat of Education had advised Ambassador Shumsky, later well-known as a nationalist, to take me into the embassy and see if I could not use my free time for drawing.[51]

Besides confirming that his Borotbist friends from the People's Commissariat of Education were behind the appointment Dovzhenko stresses that he accepted this position for the opportunity to go abroad to study painting. Obviously, Dovzhenko's interests were mainly artistic; thus we can doubt the accounts concerning his revolutionary involvement which

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H. Konovalov *Dovzhenko—khudozhnyk* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1968), 13.

[50] Oleksandr Shums'kyi (1890-1946) ex-Borotbist, Ukrainian Commissar of Education, 1925-27. Accused of "nationalist deviations," he was arrested and deported in 1933. See Mai Panchuk, "Zhyttia i smert' Oleksandra Shums'koho." *Literaturna Ukraina* 26 January 1989, and I. F. Kuras' and P. P. Ovdiienko, "O. Ia. Shums'kyi u roky Zhovtnia i hromadians'koi viiny: Evoliutsiia pohliadiv i politychna diialnist'," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* no. 12 (1990), 105-16.

[51] "Autobiography," 14.

surface in biographies. Dovzhenko's statement illustrates that he was known among his Borotbist friends as an accomplished artist worthy of financial support. It also suggests that Dovzhenko's training at the Ukrainian State Academy of Arts was much more important than he, and his biographers, are willing to admit.

In April of 1922 Dovzhenko was transferred to Berlin to work as the Secretary at the consulate of the Ukrainian SSR. Less than three months later the Central Committee of the CP(B)U dismissed him. I have already speculated on the reasons behind the termination of his employment. Another explanation would be that Dovzhenko had secured a scholarship to study art in Berlin and that the CP(B)U decision merely confirmed this bureaucratically.

Very little is known about Dovzhenko's studies in Berlin. Both he and his biographers are reluctant to elaborate on the year he spent in Berlin. We know only that the Central Committee of the CP(B)U allowed him to stay in Berlin to pursue his studies. We also know that on the orders of Khristian Rakovsky, he received a monthly stipend of 40 dollars.[52] In June of 1923 the stipend was extended for one and a half months. But that very month Dovzhenko had to return to Kharkiv because the strikes in Hamburg led to the expulsion of diplomats and other citizens of the Soviet Republics.

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[52] "Autobiography," 14. The reference to Rakovsky has been omitted from all published versions of the autobiography. Khristian Rakovsky (1873-1941) headed the Soviet Ukrainian government and was the Ukrainian commissar of foreign affairs in 1919. In 1923-25 he was the Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain and in 1925-27 to France. As a leader of the Trotskyist opposition he was expelled from the party and sent

Erich Heckel (1883-1970) is often cited by biographers as an artist whose school Dovzhenko attended. In his short 1928 autobiography Dovzhenko states that he studied painting with professor Heckel,[53] who was one of the most prominent of the German Expressionists, a member of "Die Brücke" and who lived in Berlin at the time. In 1922 he completed some of his most significant works: the decorative frescoes in the Erfurt Museum. Other German artists whom Dovzhenko knew or whose works he admired were, according to biographers, Heinrich Zille (1858-1929), Max Slevogt (1868-1932), George Grosz (1893-1959) and Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945). Interestingly, all the above artists were considered leftist at that time. For example, Heckel "figured in the German Revolution to the extent that he was a member of the Arbeitsrat für Kunst

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into exile. In August of 1937 he was arrested and then sentenced to twenty years of imprisonment. See Francis Conte, *Christian Rakovski (1873-1941): A Political Biography*, trans. A. P. M. Bradley (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1989) and V. M. Volkovynsky and S. V. Kulchytsky, *Khrystyian Rakovsky: Politychnyi portret* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury Ukrainy, 1990).

[53] "Moia avtobiohrafiia," in *Zvenyhora: zbirnyk* (Kyiv: VUFKU, 1928), 25. This fact is not supported by any documentary evidence. Dovzhenko spells the name Ekkel. Whether Heckel and Ekkel are the same person, even given differences in transliteration, cannot be verified.

(Workers Council for Art)."[54] Others were active in different communist parties and organizations including Kunstlerhilfe für Rußland. In this respect, Dovzhenko's association with Heckel is typical: a young Soviet artist goes to bourgeois Germany to study under a "progressive" master and is influenced by "progressive" art to the extent that he is not interested in learning anything else. This scenario is highly probable since study under a leftist artist was likely subsidized by German leftist organizations. It is very unlikely, however, that Dovzhenko's interests were restricted to ideological concerns. Obviously, many chapters in Dovzhenko's official Soviet biography cannot be taken at face value. The German period in Dovzhenko's life still requires systematic research.

After his return to Kharkiv, in July of 1923 Dovzhenko became a cartoonist for *Visti VUTsVk*, a daily newspaper of the Ukrainian government. Vasyl' Blakytnyi, a prominent Borotbist and editor-in-chief of the paper, was most likely behind this appointment. Dovzhenko's political cartoons and caricatures were signed "Sashko" and, in keeping with the editorial position of *Visti*, usually made fun of western leaders and capitalists.[55] This, however, was not his debut as cartoonist.

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[54] Bernard S. Myers, *The German Expressionists: A Generation in Revolt* (New York: Praeger, 1956), 150.

Dovzhenko's political cartoons first appeared in *Molot*, a Ukrainian language Communist newspaper published in New York City. Dovzhenko sent his works there from Berlin. Mykola Tarnovs'kyi, the editor of *Molot*, claims to have been Dovzhenko's first editor.[56] The newspaper reflected the political concerns of Ukrainian workers who came to the United States from Western Ukraine. We can assume that Dovzhenko supplemented his meagre Soviet scholarship with his earnings from *Molot*.

The period from 1923 to 1926 is relatively well-documented particularly by colleagues in the world of art, who knew Dovzhenko personally.[57] Although their accounts from this period do not give an exact record of events in Dovzhenko's life, they represent probably the fullest and the most sincere portrait of Dovzhenko. These accounts also contradict the image of the romantic artist which Dovzhenko promoted later in his life. Supposedly, after a sleepless night in June of 1926 he went to Odessa to become a film director even though he had no previous film experience.[58] Like many other things in Dovzhenko's life his fate was often influenced by people and groups with whom he associated. Kharkiv from 1923 to 1926 was the centre of Ukrainian literary life. Dovzhenko's participation in that life shaped him as an artist and prepared him for his film career. A number of factors contributed to his decision to become a film director and move to Odessa. Two of the most important ones, and the least researched, were Dovzhenko's family situation and his association with Ukrainian Futurists or former Futurists.

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[55] See I. Zolotoverkhova and H. Konovalov *Dovzhenko—khudozhnyk* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1968). The book reproduces a number of Dovzhenko's cartoons published in *Visti* and in other newspapers, particularly *Selians'ka pravda*.

[56] Mykola Tarnovs'kyi, "Syla khudozhnyka," *Polumiane zhyttia*, 170-71.

[57] See Mykola Bazhan, "Mytets' shukaie puti," *Vitchyzna* no. 1 (1971), 173-82 and Iurii Smolych, "Dovzhenko." in his *Rozpovid' pro nespokii* (Kyiv: Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1968), 154-81.

After Dovzhenko's death in 1956, Iuliia Solntseva, his Russian wife, became the self-appointed guardian of Dovzhenko's legacy. She was the editor of various collections of Dovzhenko's writings and through her Party connections, had considerable say in all publications about Dovzhenko.[59] For this reason, Dovzhenko's first wife, Varvara Krylova, is rarely mentioned by biographers. There are even attempts to present her in a negative light. According to one such story, Varvara had an affair with a "white" officer and escaped with him to Prague at the time when Dovzhenko was defending the revolution in Zhytomyr.[60]

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[58] "Autobiography," 17.

[59] See Mykola Kutsenko, "Spovid' pro trahichne kokhannia," *Vitchyzna* no. 4 (1991), 181-82. Similar opinions about Solntseva were echoed by several Ukrainian scholars in private conversations. According to some, Solntseva was responsible for the fragmentation of Dovzhenko's archival papers and for preventing the transfer of Dovzhenko's documents to Ukraine.

In fact, however, Dovzhenko and Krylova went to Warsaw and Berlin together. She spoke both German and French and worked for the Ukrainian trade mission in Berlin. Together with her husband she returned together to Kharkiv and lived in a "commune" on Pushkin Street. Sometime in 1925 Varvara was diagnosed with a bone disease and was sent to a sanatorium in Crimea. It is possible that Dovzhenko moved to Odessa in 1926 to be closer to his wife. The illness crippled Krylova for the rest of her life.[61] Their relationship ended at the beginning of 1928 when Dovzhenko met the young actress Iuliia Solntseva at the studio in Odessa. Krylova remained married to Dovzhenko until 1955 when she signed divorce papers on Solntseva's request. Mykola Kutsenko claims that Krylova and Dovzhenko remained on friendly terms, continued to see one another and corresponded throughout the 1930s and 40s.[62]

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[60] This exciting story of love and betrayal originated with Oleksandr Hryshchenko in *Z berehiv zacharovanoi Desny* (Kyiv: Molod', 1964) and was repeated with additions by Serhii Plachynda in *Balada pro stepovyka* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1987) and by Ivan Semenchuk in *Zhyttiepys Oleksandra Dovzhenka* (Kyiv: Molod', 1991) among others. Mykola Kutsenko dismisses these claims in "Spovid' pro trahichne kokhannia," *Vitchyzna* no. 4 (1991), 181-94.

[61] Some Ukrainian writers criticized Dovzhenko for leaving Krylova. Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, who helped Krylova on numerous occasions held Dovzhenko in low esteem for having left her at the time of her illness (Mykhailyna Kotsiubyns'ka in conversation with author).

Dovzhenko's association with the Ukrainian Futurists was an informal one.[63] He did not belong to any Futurist organization but the most prominent members of these organizations were among his closest friends. The history of Futurism in Ukraine evolved around one man—Mykhail' Semenko. His literary career had begun well before the revolution and he started several Futurist journals focused around a number of writers who were to become the elite of the Ukrainian cultural renaissance of the 1920s.[64] Among them were Dovzhenko's close friends Iurii Ianovs'kyi and Mykola Bazhan. Although these writers later distanced themselves from Semenko and joined other literary groups, their friendships and world views reflected these early alliances. In 1925 Semenko became a literary editor for VUFKU in Kharkiv.[65] Shortly thereafter, his friends also found employment in the film industry. Iurii Ianovs'kyi became a literary editor at the VUFKU film factory in Odessa and Mykola Bazhan became editor-in-chief of the newly formed journal *Kino* (Cinema), the official periodical of the Ukrainian film industry between 1925 and 1932. Therefore, it is not surprising that Dovzhenko joined the film factory in Odessa on the recommendation of his close friend Ianovs'kyi.[66] His departure for Odessa also coincided with the period of intensified Ukrainization of culture which had been initiated by the Borotbists within the CP(B)U and was endorsed by Moscow.[67] The importance of cinema in the process of Ukrainization was obvious to the party leaders; many prominent Ukrainian writers, actors, theatre directors and designers were encouraged to work within the film industry.[68]

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[62] Kutsenko, "Spovid' pro trahichne kokhannia," 190. The author suggests that Dovzhenko may be the father of Krylova's son, born in 1933 or 1935.

[63] Dovzhenko's name appears on the back cover of the first issue of *Bumeranh*, a Futurist journal edited by Mykhail' Semenko. In a letter to the editor dated May 24, 1927 Dovzhenko and Ianovs'kyi indicate that their names have appeared in *Bumeranh* erroneously. "Lyst do redaktsii," *Vaplite* no. 3 (1927), 210.

[64] On the history of the Ukrainian Futurist movement, its organizations and personalities see Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj, *Ukrainian Futurism, 1914-1930: An Historical and Critical Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1995).

Dovzhenko's association with VUFKU and film did not simply begin after a sleepless night in June of 1926. Besides drawing posters for the organization,[69] Dovzhenko had already tried writing a film script. His *Vasia the Reformer* was written in 1925 and approved by VUFKU for production in 1926. Dovzhenko had wanted to go to Odessa before the production of this first screenplay began but was invited by VUFKU only when difficulties arose.[70] Dovzhenko had also gained some experience as a translator of intertitles for foreign films distributed by VUFKU.[71] This gave him the opportunity to see a number of foreign films. Bazhan recalls that discussions in Dovzhenko's apartment often turned to cinema because many of those present were involved in creating a national film industry in Ukraine.

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[65] Semenko worked for VUFKU between 1924 and 1927; see Ilnytzkyj, 117. For more information about Semenko and the film industry see M. Sulyma, "Bilia dzherel: Mykhail' Semenko—redaktor VUFKU," *Kul'tura i zhyttia* 20 December 1987.

[66] Bazhan, "Mytets' shukaie puti," 181.

[67] Myroslav Shkandrij, *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation: The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s* (Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1992), 17.

[68] See "Pro robotu VUFKU: Postanova TsK KP(b)U vid 25 kvitnia 1925r." in *Kul'turne budivnytstvo v Ukrains'kii RSR: Vazhlyvishi rishennia Komunistychnoi Partii i radians'koho uriadu 1917-1959 rr.* vol. 1 (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo politychnoi literatury URSR, 1959), 281-82.

Dovzhenko's accommodations in the *Visty* building on

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[69] Maria Romanivs'ka gives an account of Dovzhenko's interest in film in her memoir "Daleka nasha kinoiunist'," *Vitchyzna* no. 11 (1969), 152-59. I. I. Zolotoverkhova catalogues Dovzhenko's film posters in *Ukrains'kyi radians'kyi kinoplakat 20-30-kh rokiv* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1983). Others are reproduced in I. Zolotoverkhova and H. Konovalov, *Dovzhenko—khudozhnyk* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1968).

[70] Dovzhenko, in a letter to KORELIS (Kolektyv rezhyseriv, literatoriv i stsenarystiv) from June 20, 1926, reprinted in G. Ostrovskii, *Odessa, more, kino: Stranitsy istorii dalekoi i blizkoi* (Odessa: Maiak, 1989), 102. See also Mykola Bazhan, *O. Dovzhenko: Narys pro myttsia* (Kyiv: VUFKU, 1930), 13, and Oleksii Shvachko, *Rozpovidi pro suchasnykiv* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1983), 27-29. The film was initially directed by Favst Lopatyns'kyi, a prominent director from the Berezil' Theatre and a close ally of the Futurists. Lopatyns'kyi and Dovzhenko, are credited as co-directors of *Vasia the Reformer*.

[71] Bazhan, "Mytets' shukaie puti," 178. Maik Johansen, a Futurist writer and scholar, was a regular translator for VUFKU and often passed jobs to Dovzhenko who was in need of additional income to pay for his wife's medical treatment.

Pushkin Street in Kharkiv also helped him integrate into the artistic community. An unoccupied space in the building, which served as his studio, became a meeting place for a number of Ukraine's most prominent artists.[72] Complaints against nude models put an end to drawing and painting sessions but the apartment continued to be a regular meeting place. When Dovzhenko's wife left for the sanatorium his apartment sheltered writers who, due to housing shortages, had no place to go after arriving in the capital. Dovzhenko's friends in the Pushkin Street building were associated with several literary groups of which he became a member. Literary organizations at that time were not limited to writers but were open to artists working in different media who shared the organization's views. Although he did not consider himself a writer, Dovzhenko took active part in two major literary organizations, Hart and Vaplite. Like most literary groups of the time they considered themselves organizations of proletarian writers.[73]

Established in January 1923, Hart originated in Borotbist literary circles and continued the traditions of earlier groups.[74] Hart's programme as well as its constitution were objects of attacks by Russian communists. Although it endorsed communist ideology, Hart was inspired mainly by "the Ukrainian cultural and political awakening, which was rooted in the long struggle for national and social liberation. If it foresaw the triumph of world revolution, it saw the success of national-liberation movements as its precondition."[75] After three years of operation, an internal dispute brought an end to the organization: Blakytnyi's drive to open the organization to the proletarian masses (at the expense of literary standards) was seen as an attempt to impose party discipline over the creative process.

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[72] According to Bazhan, the studio was frequented by Ivan Padalka, Vasyl' Yermilov, Mykola Mishchenko and Anatol' Petryts'kyi. Bazhan, "Mytets' shukaie puti," 176.

[73] The term "proletarian" was used freely by most artistic organizations in the country. Its meaning, however, differed significantly among its users. During the late 1920s the term became an essential word for political survival; consequently all literary groups claimed to be "proletarian."

The opposition to Blakytnyi, led by Mykola Khvylovyi, Oles' Dosvitnyi and Mykhailo Ialovyi, attempted to form a group with a common artistic credo within Hart. This little-known group, calling itself Urbino, proved to be a transitional stage in the creation of Vaplite.[76] Dovzhenko shared Urbino's vision. He joined Khvylovyi and about a dozen others in forming this exclusive group of artists.[77] His membership in the group proves, once again, that Dovzhenko, despite his background, distanced himself from individuals who formed organizations aimed at attracting workers and peasants. Dovzhenko's tastes and associations were elitist or "Olympian," to cite the terms used by communists in attacks against him.

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[74] Pivotal in forming Borotbist literary organizations were Hnat Mykhailychenko, Vasyl' Blakytnyi, Mykhail' Semenko and Vasyl' Chumak. The most interesting among their publications was the journal *Mystetstvo* (1919-21), edited by Semenko.

[75] Shkandrij, 34.

[76] Urbino writers and artists saw their roles as similar to the artists of Italian Renaissance. Urbino, a small town in Italy, was Raphael's birth place.

Vaplite (Vilna Akademiia Proletars'koi Literatury), or the Free Academy of Proletarian Literature, was the most influential and powerful organization for those who believed that literature should develop independently from politics and that the quality should be the only criterion when judging a literary work of art. The organization alienated those who believed that literature should be written for the masses. This alerted party officials who feared, rightly, that such literary activities would escape their control. Vaplite was established on November 20, 1925 and its activities stirred controversy, alarmed communists in Moscow and received personal attention from Stalin. Under duress, the organization finally disbanded itself in January of 1928. Dovzhenko was one of the organizers and active members of Vaplite before he left for Odessa in June of 1926. He figures in the documents attesting to the formation of the organization but is missing from the official photograph.[78] The importance of the Vaplite episode in Dovzhenko's life rests not so much in his membership in the organization but, rather, in his link with Mykola Khvylovyi and the ideas which later became known as "Khvylovism."

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[77] See Shkandrij, note 97, p. 194.

There are three images intertwined throughout Khvylovyi's writings: Europe, *prosvita* (enlightenment) and the Asiatic renaissance.[79] For Khvylovyi, Europe represented a cultural tradition spanning many ages. Unlike the Proletcult artists who shouted: "Cezanne? Who said Cezanne?—Cezanne was blind! Put him in front of a firing squad!," Khvylovyi believed that Ukrainian artists could learn from European art. The slogan "Away from Moscow!" succinctly encapsulated Khvylovyi's orientation towards Europe and ultimately, brought him demise. It implied direct contact between Ukrainian culture and the West and the rejection of Moscow as an intermediary. Khvylovyi promoted Europe as a psychological category which represented the progress of humanity. For this reason, Khvylovyi defended the writers commonly known as the Neoclassicists. He regarded them as guardians and promoters of European traditions in art.

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[78] Dovzhenko was present at the founding meeting of Vaplite in Kharkiv on 14 October 1925. See Iurii Luts'kyi, *Vaplitans'kyi zbirnyk* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1977), 231-32. He is missing from the official 1926 group photograph of Vaplite (as is Ianovs'kyi who was also in Odessa at that time) and the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (vol. 5, p. 554) erroneously does not list him as a member of the organization. Dovzhenko is, however, listed as one of the twenty-five members Vaplite had in 1927. See *Vaplite* no. 1 (1927), 153.

[79] I introduce Khvylovyi's ideas as elaborated in Shkandrij, 53-58.

For Khvylovyi, *Prosvita*, the pre-revolutionary literacy society, symbolized the backwardness of Ukrainian culture. The continuation of *prosvita*'s line, with its traditional populism and ethnographism, meant, for Khvylovyi, the affirmation and acceptance of the provincial status of Ukrainian culture. The rise of the Ukrainian intelligentsia necessitated a break with the *prosvita* tradition cultivated by proletarian mass-oriented literary organizations.

The third slogan promoted by Khvylovyi was the "Asian Renaissance." The next cultural renaissance was supposed to originate with the peoples of the East. The concept of East apparently included all peoples and cultures beyond the Western tradition. The reawakening of the oppressed people of countries with long standing cultural traditions (such as China) would provide the vitality needed for a cultural renaissance. As a country on the border between East and West, Ukraine could play a role in introducing the Asiatic renaissance to Europe.[80]

Dovzhenko's only contribution to the journal *Vaplite* mirrors Khvylovyi's positions in the visual arts.[81] In response to the creation of the Association of Artists of Red Ukraine (AKhChU)[82] by the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia (AKhRR), Dovzhenko points to the historical and stylistic development of this organization. He traces the origin of AKhRR to the 19th century *peredvizhniki* movement in Russia which he criticizes for its surrender of form to content in painting. For Dovzhenko, this style contrasted with that of renaissance artists, who sought to find a balance between the *what* and the *how* in the arts. The AKhRR also lacked this balance and Dovzhenko labelled its style as "heroic realism." It seemed to Dovzhenko that this was "the first case in the history of culture when a style [was] 'decided' at a meeting."[83]

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[80] Concerns about the Chinese revolution and its influence on Europe were expressed at about the same time by Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz. His catastrophist novel, written in 1927 but published in 1930, deals with a Chinese communist invasion from the East. See *Insatiability*, transl. Louis Iribarne (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

Dovzhenko opposed the emulation of Russian realist art and favoured an art which would reflect in its form and content the specificity of the Ukrainian people. For this reason Dovzhenko helped found[84] the Association of Revolutionary Art of Ukraine (ARMU), an organization whose membership included many of his colleagues and mentors.[85] ARMU, which grouped artists from diverse schools, worked within European artistic traditions. It was, first and foremost, devoted to quality in art. Dovzhenko wrote:

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[81] Dovzhenko, "Do problemy obrazotvorchoho mystetstva," *Vaplite: zoshyt pershyi* (Kharkiv: 1926), 25-36.

[82] Asotsiatsiia Khudozhnikiv Chervonoi Ukrainy (1926-32) were a group of artists who produced the popular, realistic art demanded by the party. It maintained a close relationship with its Russian counterpart—the AKhRR. The organization had 14 branches throughout Ukraine, a poster workshop and a publishing house. It begun to break up in 1929 when many of its leading artists left.

[83] Dovzhenko, "Do problemy...," 28.

> Form in art, expressing in its content the class ideology (for example, clerical, bourgeois and proletarian art), has been and always will be a product of class psychology and the political-economic circumstances of each class. Keeping in mind these basic factors in order to save itself from the cheap artistic slime, ARMU sets its present goal: to struggle for the formal quality of artistic production against the background of artistic-revolutionary content.[86]

Dovzhenko's article proves that he, like Khvylovyi, was convinced that the generation of artists to which the two belonged was responsible for the renaissance of Ukrainian culture. He also believed that art should develop freely, that equal attention should be paid to form and content. Like

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[84] See Bazhan, *O. Dovzhenko*, 11-12.

[85] Asotsiatsiia Revoliutsiinoho Mystetstva Ukrainy (1925-32) was one of the largest artistic organizations in Ukrainian SSR with branches in all the major cities. It encompassed diverse artistic approaches all of which strove to raise the level of Ukrainian artistic culture. The ARMU fought against naturalism in art and against its proponents—the AKhRR. The most prominent within the group were the followers of Mykhailo Boichuk, who cultivated monumentalist art in the national tradition and encouraged formal experimentation. The ARMU membership included O. Bohomazov, M. Boichuk, M. Burachek, M. Hlushchenko, V. Yermilov, V. Kasiian, V. Meller, I. Padalka and famous Vladimir Tatlin.

[86] Dovzhenko, "Do problemy...," 34.

Khvylovyi with his "away from Moscow" slogan, Dovzhenko advocated a western approach for Ukrainian art.

In Odessa Dovzhenko put all his energy into learning the craft of filmmaking. Indeed, he came to the production of his screenplay, *Vasia the Reformer*, without any formal training. While it may seem unusual to have risked the expensive resources of a film studio for the purpose of training, this was the policy of VUFKU, as there were no film schools in Ukraine. As Vance Kepley points out:

> [T]he Ukrainian film organization, VUFKU, devised its own on-the-job training program. VUFKU head Pavlo Neches[a] welcomed neophytes into the organization during an aggressive company expansion in the middle 1920s. He maintained a teaching facility within the studio for new recruits, but he often pushed them quickly into production work on something like an internship program.[87]

No apprenticeship program can succeed without good teachers. Who were Dovzhenko's teachers at the Odessa film factory of VUFKU?

After the nationalization of the film industry in 1919, the Ukrainian SSR had several organizations under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Education which were responsible for cinema.[88] Productions during the years of civil war were limited to short propaganda films. With the establishment of VUFKU in March of 1922, the production of feature length films began. VUFKU had a monopoly on film production and distribution in Ukraine and maintained a business-like relationship with Russian producers and distributors. VUFKU inherited the pre-revolutionary Khanzhonkov studio in Odessa, rented a smaller studio in Yalta and in 1929 built large studios in Kyiv. In 1930 VUFKU lost its independence, was renamed Ukrainfilm and became incorporated into the Soviet distribution network. Throughout the 1920s VUFKU relied predominantly on pre-revolutionary film directors and other creative personnel who had not emigrated. Although from its inception VUFKU tried to encourage politically reliable artists and writers from various walks of life, its survival in the NEP economy depended heavily on pre-revolutionary craftsmen.

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[87] Vance Kepley, Jr., "Building a National Cinema: Soviet Film Education, 1918-1934," *Wide Angle* 9.3 (1987), 13.

[88] VUKK (Vseukrains'kyi kinokomitet) the All-Ukrainian Cinema Committee was created in April of 1919. Under the leadership of Vladimir Gardin, from Moscow, VUKK produced newsreels and agitational shorts. The organization was later reorganized into VUFKK (Vseukrains'kyi fotokinokomitet) the

Newcomers to the studio, like Dovzhenko, were teamed up with experienced individuals who could guarantee the completion of a film. For his first two films, *Vasia the Reformer* and *Love's Berry*, Dovzhenko worked with Iosif Rona, a German cameraman who had been brought to Ukraine as a

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All-Ukrainian Photo Cinema Committee, as part of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR. Planned production and distribution of films in Ukraine began with the establishment of VUFKU (Vseukrains'ke fotokinoupravlinnia) the All-Ukrainian Photo Cinema Administration on March 13, 1922.

mentor.[89] Danylo Demuts'kyi, who later worked on the most important of Dovzhenko's projects, was also a newcomer to the studio. These early efforts were also a learning experience for him. Demuts'kyi is credited as co-cameraman on both of Dovzhenko's early films. For his first feature film, *Sumka dypkuriera*, Dovzhenko was teamed up with another experienced cameraman by the name of Nikolai Kozlovskii.[90] On occasion Dovzhenko mentions Kozlovskii as his major teacher at the studio. As I will try to demonstrate later, *Zvenyhora* is heavily influenced by old film poetics. The main reason for this is probably the camerawork of Boris Zavelev, an old cinematographer who opted for a traditional approach to mise-en-scène.

Thus, through his work with experienced film professionals, Dovzhenko learned basic filmmaking. During this apprenticeship he became familiar with traditional filmmaking which was very similar to the Hollywood style of the time. His teachers, familiar with pre-revolutionary studio production systems continued to do what they knew best. Soviet critics have viewed these older professionals as conservative, ideologically unreliable and reactionary, but they played a significant role in the training of a new generation of filmmakers. From them Dovzhenko learned the dominant film style of the time. Armed with this knowledge, he was ready to experiment, to question, and to reject the tradition. Soviet critics prefer to present Dovzhenko as a romantic artist inspired, by the revolution, to experiment formally. They seem to forget that filmmaking, like any other art form, is a craft that needs to be learned. One needs to be conscious of tradition in order to create something new. Dovzhenko is no exception to this rule.

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[89] Little is known about Rona (Ukrainian transcription of his name) except for the fact that he was one of six cameramen brought from Germany. They stayed in Ukraine for about two years shooting films and teaching their younger Ukrainian colleagues. Although Rona continued to shoot films for VUFKU until 1931 he was an unsympathetic figure. He had his own camera and a set of first-class lenses and was very reluctant to show the secrets of his craft to anyone. See Shvachko, *Rozpovidi*, 28.

[90] Nikolai Kozlovskii (1887-1939)—a photographer and cameraman. Between 1908 and 1917 he is credited with more than sixty films. He continued after the revolution, first as a newsreel cameraman and then on feature films. He shot only two films for VUFKU.

Inasmuch as Dovzhenko's early films merely preshadow his subsequent works, I will limit myself to their brief plot synopses. There is no reason to second guess the director, who treated these films as craft-learning experiences. VUFKU's practice of hiring and training filmmakers seems only to reinforce this claim.

Dovzhenko's first two films were comedies. He even claims that he came to cinema in order to make comedies.[91] *Vasia the Reformer* is the story of a young pioneer set on reforming his drunkard uncle. This neatly written comedy follows Vasia and his younger brother Iurko through a number of adventures which lead to improvements in society. Vasia, a reformer with his own business cards, exposes a bureaucrat trying to cover up the loss of state property; he shows a congregation that the miracles performed by a priest are fake; and arrests a thief who breaks into the young man's home. The script includes a sophisticated formal structure, with flashbacks and dreams, including that of a dog. It was a fast-paced film with chases, comic-like characters who inflict comic-like violence on each other. In the end, Vasia's uncle and his reformed drunkard friends take on family responsibilities and care for their children. On Sunday they go to a church turned movie theatre, where the priest serves as the projectionist. Although the film did not survive, the published script suggests that Dovzhenko tried to poke fun at the eternal problems of society as well as at the over-zealousness of the self-appointed reformers.[92] *Vasia the Reformer* failed in its attempt to be funny: those who participated in the production recall many occasions for laughter during the shooting but none during the screening of the film.

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[91] "Autobiography," 18. In addition to the two early films some of Dovzhenko's unrealized projects were intended as comedies: "The Homeland," "Chaplin Lost" and "The Tsar."

The short film *Love's Berry* was also a comedy. It was a slapstick comedy, made in the tradition of Buster Keaton's

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[92] Dovzhenko, "Vasia-reformator: Stsenarii pershoho fil'mu O. P. Dovzhenka," Parts 1 and 2, *Kul'tura i zhyttia* 28 September 1986 and 5 October 1986.

American comedies, which ridiculed authority and pomposity. The comedy was also a vehicle for the aspiring Ukrainian comedian, Dmytro Kapka,[93] who was often compared to Max Linder.[94] The plot of *Love's Berry* involves a scheme, developed by a young girl, to force a barber to marry her. The film is a series of comic episodes in the manner of Western European or American comedies. Even the names of the characters, Zhan (Jean) and Lisa, indicate to the viewer that this will be a familiar structure, although Zhan's last name, Kovbasiuk (Mr. Sausage), unmistakably locates the characters in the NEP Ukraine. Lisa tries to convince Zhan that he is the father of her baby. Left alone with the child, Zhan attempts to get rid of the child. The comedy of the film resides in Zhan's numerous attempts to lose the baby and, later, to find it, under order of the court. Eventually Zhan is forced to marry Lisa only to learn that the baby is neither his nor Lisa's. The comedy is a familiar product made the world over by film studios. Quickly written and quickly produced (in 11 days), *Love's Berry* was a commercial product that VUFKU needed in order to compete with "amerykanshchyna" in its own territory.[95]

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[93] Dmytro Kapka (1898-1977) real name Kapkunov, a Ukrainian film actor. Dovzhenko met him during his stay in Warsaw where Kapka was studying acting.

[94] Max Linder (1883-1925)—French comic actor whose films were very popular in Europe but unknown in North America.

Dovzhenko's next project also falls within the category of commercially viable genre films. This time it was an adventure spy story known in Ukraine as a "pryhodnyts'kyi fil'm." It might also be classified as a "red detective" story, an ideologically motivated film genre with the qualities of a thriller.[96] The film's script was based on the assassination of a Soviet diplomatic courier.[97] The film's plot reflects the internationalist concerns of the Soviet revolution and the notion that the world proletariat wholeheartedly supports this revolution.

The plot may be summarized as follows: A Soviet diplomatic courier carrying important state documents home is seriously wounded. While the British secret police and Inspector White try to steal the papers, the courier is helped by a British communist railway worker. Before he dies the courier entrusts the documents to the worker. The worker's sailor son undertakes to deliver the documents to Leningrad. Having discovered the scheme, Inspector White, assisted by his mistress, boards the ship. The sailors throw White and the policemen into the sea. The efforts of the proletariat succeed and the ship sails to Leningrad.

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[95] Most films shown on Ukrainian screens were American or Western European. For Soviet statistics which are also representative for Ukraine see Vance Kepley, Jr. and Betty Kepley, "Foreign Films on Soviet Screens, 1922-1931," *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 4.4 (1979), 429-42, and Denise J. Youngblood, "The *Amerikanshchina* in Soviet Cinema," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 19.4 (1992), 148-56.

[96] Kepley, *In the Service*, 110.

[97] Mar'iamov suggests (after Iurenev) that Dovzhenko was a friend of Theodore Nette, the assassinated courier in the events on which *The Diplomatic Pouch* was based. Like the story of Dovzhenko's acquaintance with Shchors, this also seems to have been invented by biographers. There is no evidence to support it. Dovzhenko does not mention the friendship with the Soviet martyr although it would have been beneficial for him to do so during Stalinist times. See A. Mariamov, *Dovzhenko* (Moskva: Molodaia gvardiia, 1968), 70-71.

The Diplomatic Pouch premiered in Ukraine in March of 1927 and in January of 1928 in Russia. It received fairly positive responses both from the critics and from audiences. The film established Dovzhenko within VUFKU as a capable director. Iuri Ianovs'kyi, writing under a pseudonym, rightly predicted that Dovzhenko's career was beginning and that he had found in cinema an appropriate medium to express himself. "The history of Dovzhenko has just begun"—wrote Ianovs'kyi.[98]

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Thus far I have attempted to outline Dovzhenko's life against the background of early Ukrainian Soviet history. I have emphasized the Ukrainian aspect of the Soviet milieu. In stressing Dovzhenko's most immediate concerns my goal has been to present his formative period as typical for a member of the Ukrainian intelligentsia during the period of national and social rebirth. Ukrainian intellectuals faced problems and dilemmas significantly different from their Russian colleagues. These differences are imperceptible to scholars who place Dovzhenko within a completely Soviet paradigm. Consider, for example, Vance Kepley's conclusions in describing Dovzhenko's life up to 1926:

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[98] Iu. Iurchenko, "Istoriia maistra," *Kino* no. 5 (1927), 9.

> He escaped from the poverty and stagnation of peasant life through education. Then by leaping into the upheaval of the revolutionary years, he turned his energies to building a socialist Ukraine. The work of the Kharkovites represented the perfect synthesis of Dovzhenko's *dual social identity as nostalgic peasant and modern political partisan*. His Kharkov association helped focus what would be the central concern of his work, *the friction between upholding tradition and celebrating the revolutionary transformation of society*. Part of his cinematic project would be to propose that the Soviet Union could do both.[99]

While Dovzhenko's social convictions and sympathies cannot be denied, the friction and dilemmas that Dovzhenko faced were those of a Ukrainian intellectual of his generation: how could he simultaneously advance the cause of a socialist revolution and that of a Ukrainian national culture. Dovzhenko's participation in the activities of the Borotbist party, Hart, Vaplite and ARMU demonstrate that he always affiliated himself with those who believed in a distinct socialist Ukrainian culture, poised towards the high culture of Europe and liberated from Russian dominance. Dovzhenko's peasant origins seem only to have had a minor impact on his cultural and political inclination. He never belonged to or supported peasant oriented organizations. On the contrary, he was very much against the red *prosvita* favoured by the party. Dovzhenko's entry into cinema was a result of specific cultural and political developments in Ukraine, particularly the attempt to build a Ukrainian national cinema.

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[99] Vance Kepley, Jr., "The Fiction Films of Alexander Dovzhenko: A Historical Reading," Ph. D. Dissertation (University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1978), 61 (emphasis added).

As Kepley states, Dovzhenko's works represent the tensions of the so-called literary discussions of the 1920s in Kharkiv. The nature of this friction must, however, be redefined in terms of Ukrainian history. Dovzhenko, like many of his colleagues, was building an independent Ukrainian socialist culture equal to that of Russia or any other nation. He opposed the Ukrainian provincialism which was so convenient to Moscow. As we shall see, Dovzhenko's films fuse European modernist trends with indigenous Ukrainian motifs. Moreover, the poetics of Dovzhenko's films developed at the height of this literary discussion served to reconcile the ideas of nation-building with the supposedly international character of the proletarian revolution. Given a choice between the agitational, ideologically polarized poetics of Russian cinema (in the style of Eisenstein and Pudovkin) and the "socially unconscious" poetics of a national NEP cinema, Dovzhenko's film poetics could not define themselves in terms of the polarized ideological positions of the political environment in which they operated. Rather such stark delineations had to be erased. Critics called the resultant meditative style of Dovzhenko's films "poetic cinema."

The Silent Trilogy

While Dovzhenko's departure for Odessa in 1926 coincided with the first official attack on Shums'kyi and Khvylovyi, the period between 1927 and 1930, when he made his silent trilogy, marked a fierce political and cultural battle. The national communists (formerly the Borotbists) were losing ground to the Russian Bolsheviks. Amongst the three principal factions within the CP(B)U, the one led by Shums'kyi, which supported Khvylovyi's cultural orientation, consisted of former Borotbists who wanted the de-Russification of the Ukrainian proletariat and called for an extension of Ukrainization in literature, education and scholarship. The second, pro-Russian tendency, with the support of the Russified industrial part of Ukraine, had been in the minority since 1922 because the ethnic composition of the CP(B)U had changed in favour of the Ukrainians. The third group advocated compromise by supporting Ukrainization and attempted to appease the aspirations of the Russians. The last faction was led by Mykola Skrypnyk, who had replaced Shums'kyi as the Commissar of Education, and Lazar Kaganovich, the first secretary of CP(B)U. From April 1927 onwards the staunch Ukrainian nationalists had begun to lose ground to those who supported a more limited Ukrainization programme.

Shums'kyi's fall from grace and the corresponding official attack on *shumskism* and *khvylovism* had a negative impact on Dovzhenko. As we remember, Dovzhenko was associated with both men and supported their ideas on culture. After 1927 Dovzhenko distanced himself from writers' circles and did not actively take part in cultural discussions. Instead, he concentrated on filmmaking. The rapidly changing political climate put certain demands on him. His films reflect these changes.

Dovzhenko's friends, however, continued to take part in the critical discussion of the time. Though Vaplite folded, its members reappeared in association with a new journal entitled *Literaturnyi iarmarok* and the Futurists launched the high-quality journal, *Nova generatsiia*. VUFKU's *Kino*, which first appeared in 1926, was initially an informative journal on Ukrainian and foreign films and film criticism.[100] By 1929 the often humorous literary polemic contained within these journals turned into a series of nasty attacks and denunciations. By 1930 the quality of leading journals had dropped significantly, so much so that the dialogue they published had little in common with the lively cultural polemics for which they had become known. Khvylovyi denounced *khvylovism* and attacked the Futurists for bourgeois deviations. The Futurists retaliated with even more vicious attacks on him, as each group tried to win political victories with the Party.[101] By 1931 most of the leading journals had been closed by the Party or had had their editorial boards replaced.

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[100] For example, Eugène Deslaw, a prominent filmmaker of the French avant-garde, was a regular contributor to *Kino*. He wrote on French films as well as about the reception of Ukrainian films in France. Deslaw was also an early promoter of Dovzhenko's works abroad.

The end to leniency towards the Ukrainian intelligentsia was foreshadowed in February of 1929 when Stalin met with a delegation of Ukrainian writers in Moscow. In addressing the concerns of Ukrainian Bolshevik writers, led by Kulyk and Khvylia,[102] Stalin made it clear that national cultures would no longer be tolerated. Giving voice to the concerns of anonymous "comrades," Stalin indicated that the Soviet Union should now struggle to create one international culture and one language. He stated that:

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[101] See Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj, "Futurist Polemics with Xvyl'ovyj during the Prolitfront Period," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, ed. Bohdan Rubchak, vol. 16, no. 41-42 (1984-85), 221-248.

[102] Ivan Kulyk (1987-1941), a leading writer of VUSPP, a Party-endorsed literary group. In 1934 he became the first President of the Writers Union of Ukraine. Kulyk perished in the Great Purge after being arrested in 1937. Andrii Khvylia (1898-193?) journalist and communist activist. A former Borotbist he made a career of attacking Ukrainian nationalism during the late 1920s and early 1930s. He was responsible for the press section of CP(B)U (1926-28) and the Cultural Propaganda Section (1928-33). Khvylia was arrested in 1937 and disappeared.

> [the] development in the direction of socialism is already leading to the extinction of national culture and that therefore a common, world language should be created in the transitional phase between capitalism and socialism. And [the comrades] argue that here, in the Soviet Union, this whole business should be taking place, this fusion of the national cultures into one culture and one language - obviously the Russian language, as the most developed.[103]

At the time of the meeting, Kaganovich had already been recalled to Moscow and replaced as the First Secretary of the CP(B)U, which meant a loss for the Skrypnyk's faction. Stalin's meeting with the writers also indicated how the definitions of national culture and "nationalism" could easily shift to connote deviation.

The subjugation of the so-called "bourgeois nationalists" began in the summer of 1929 with a series of arrests and the show trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU—Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy). The SVU was a fabricated organization accused of undermining Soviet power. Forty-five Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested and tried for conspiracy. Most of them had been supporters of the Central Rada during the revolution. Serhii Yefremov, a prominent literary critic, was identified as their leader. The majority of the accused were from the Kyiv region but several representatives of the group were found in other cities, with the exception of Kharkiv, the capital, where authorities did not wish to discredit the central police force. The accused were, of course, found guilty and were given sentences ranging from two to ten years of imprisonment. For most of them these sentences were changed to death during the 1930s.[104]

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[103] Leonid Maximenkov, "Stalin's Meeting with a Delegation of Ukrainian Writers on 12 February 1929," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 17.3-4 (1992), 398. These recently found minutes of the meeting show that even the pro-Bolshevik writers present at the meeting had serious reservations about the role and place of Ukrainian culture within the Soviet Union. The minutes also show that the discussion was quite open and that the writers were not afraid to express their opinions.

The trial received enormous levels of publicity. All newspapers and journals printed detailed reports of the trial as well as denunciations from "concerned citizens." Editorials in *Kino*, which did not normally comment on political matters stated that many "bourgeois nationalists" sheltered within the Ukrainian film industry should be exposed.[105] During the trial Dovzhenko was working on *Earth*. The negative critical reception which the film received from official critics suggests that Dovzhenko was no longer safe.

Political attitudes towards the Ukrainian film industry began to shift in 1928. The Ukrainian Commissar of Education, Mykola Skrypnyk, had to defend the independence of the industry on numerous occasions, both during meetings in Moscow and in the press. Despite these protestations the independent Ukrainian film industry began gradually to lose its autonomy and was eventually abolished altogether. VUFKU's Director, O. Shub, was replaced by I. Vorobiov, a man who favoured centralization and socialist planning. Plans to form a Ukrainian film school were postponed and then abandoned. According to the new policy Moscow's VGIK was responsible for and capable of educating filmmakers for all the republics.[106] More drastic changes were yet to come. In 1930 VUFKU was reorganized into Ukrainfilm. Film production was subordinated to the central planning body in Moscow. A Ukrainian national cinema was now harshly opposed.

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[104] For a detailed and well-documented account of the trial and fabrication of evidence, see Oleksandr Sydorenko and Anatolii Balabol'chenko, "Katarsys, abo kym i iak sfabrykovano spravu 'Spilky Vyzvolennia Ukrainy,'" *Kyiv* no. 7 (1994), 103-19, and no. 8-9 (1994), 127-43.

[105] See, for example, "Vidpovid' klasovomu vorohovi," *Kino* no. 21-22 (1929).

Changes in Ukrainian political life and changes within the film industry had limited impact on Dovzhenko's trilogy. It is very likely that the films had been approved by the old regime and, although political battles were being fought within the upper echelons of the industry, the production of previously approved films continued. Dovzhenko's last silent film was shot during the summer of 1929 when organizational changes and directives had not yet affected day-to-day operations. The drastic Stalinist measures of the 1930s had not yet come into being.

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[106] The changes in the Ukrainian film industry in years from 1928 to 1930 are presented here after Larysa Briukhovets'ka, "Do i pislia *Zvenyhory*: Chytaiuchy zhurnal *Kino* (1925-1933)," 1991, unpublished manuscript.

While there was inertia in the film industry at this time, critics were much quicker to reflect the Party line. The negative reviews which had appeared in an effort to discredit *Zvenyhora* culminated in an orchestrated attack on *Earth* in 1930. These attacks accelerated Dovzhenko's "flight" to Moscow in 1932, a move that most likely saved his life.[107]

Zvenyhora

Of the three films examined here, *Zvenyhora* is the only one not written by Dovzhenko. The tragic fate of the film's two writers resulted in numerous attempts to discredit them or downplay their role in the creation of the film. To distance himself from the writers, Dovzhenko claims in his 1939 autobiography that he rewrote about 90% of the screenplay. He also states that the writers removed their names from the film's credits after having seen the film for the first time.[108] This does not seem to be correct. Maik Johansen[109] was always credited as the writer of the film and Iurii Tiutiunnyk's pseudonym, Iurtyk, appears in most publications.[110]

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[107] Dovzhenko, "Autobiography," 24. Dovzhenko's use of "fled to Moscow" (sbezhal) was often softened in published version of the autobiography to "went" (vyikhav). Had Dovzhenko stayed in Ukraine he would have shared the fate of many of his colleagues who were arrested and executed or perished in the Gulag. Ukraine was a battleground in the fight with so-called "Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalism." Outside of Ukraine this battle did not have such importance.

[108] "Autobiography," 19.

[109] Maik Johansen (1895-1937)—poet, prose writer, screenwriter, translator, literary theorist, linguist and scholar. He was member of Hart and Vaplite and regularly translated intertitles for VUFKU. Johansen participated in the

No publication I have consulted credits Dovzhenko as a screenwriter for *Zvenyhora*. It is unlikely that Dovzhenko wanted to take credit for something he did not do, however, he did try to dissociate himself from the writers and save the film from destruction. By 1939 both writers had already been executed and declared "enemies of the people." It would have been dangerous for Dovzhenko to admit having produced a screenplay written by "enemies." Moreover, works of art created by such people were usually destroyed. To save himself and the film, he exaggerated his contribution. By stating that the writers had removed their names from the film in protest Dovzhenko also placed himself in a more favourable light. It suggests an ideological disagreement between the writers and himself.

Zvenyhora is the relatively simple story, set during the Ukrainian revolution, of a grandfather and his two grandsons, Tymish and Pavlo. The hard-working Tymish joins the Bolsheviks

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creation of standard Ukrainian orthography in 1928. He was arrested and executed.

[110] Iurii Tiutiunnyk (1891-1929)—senior UNR Army officer and writer, led various anti-Bolshevik forces during the revolution and the civil war. He returned to Soviet Ukraine in 1923 and taught in a military school. Tiutiunnyk wrote memoirs and screenplays for VUFKU during the 1920s. He was executed following a change in political climate.

and after the revolution studies in order to use his knowledge to build a new, socialist Ukraine. His brother Pavlo, dreamy and lazy by nature, assists his grandfather in his search for the lost treasures of Zvenyhora and later emigrates to Prague. Influenced by his grandfather's tales of Cossacks and the medieval maiden Roksana, Pavlo opposes the "forces of progress" brought by the revolution. He tries to raise money in Western capitals by devising a scheme of public suicide. In Ukraine, he attempts to blow up a train with the help of his naive grandfather, but shoots himself after his plan fails. In the meantime, the grandfather is picked up by the train carrying his other grandson, Tymish, and speeds into the future.

Working within the constrains of the story Dovzhenko manages to address one of the key dilemmas of a Ukrainian intellectual of his generation: national rebirth versus social revolution. This internal conflict is presented in the film as a confrontation between the supposedly polarized issues of nationalism (Pavlo) and socialism (Tymish) against the backdrop of Ukrainian national history (the grandfather). The film's complex discourse indicates that these two movements are not necessarily mutually exclusive and, as such, parallels the position of national communist parties like the Borotbists. Does *Zvenyhora* reflect the Borotbist position?

Dovzhenko's inclusion of Ukrainian historical themes within the film's narrative represents the Borotbist consciousness. Unlike his Russian counterparts, who approach history from a Marxist class perspective (witness Eisenstein's *October*, for example) Dovzhenko sees Ukrainian national history as an integral component of the new identity and new consciousness of socialist Ukraine. In the final sequence of *Zvenyhora*, rather than crushing the grandfather, the train of progress picks him up and speeds towards the future. The disgraced emigré is not punished but rather kills himself in an act of self-punishment for his betrayal of his people. This symbolic gesture suggests that the grandfather and his stories can be reconciled with and be useful to the new socialist state.

The film pays far greater attention to the romanticized notion of history embraced by the nationalists than to the revolutionary Marxist agenda. Although the emigré nationalist Pavlo is defeated and has no place in the Ukraine of the future Dovzhenko does not reject everything that Pavlo's character represents. The two historical tales which are enacted in the film were carefully chosen. They represent two periods of glory in Ukrainian history: the time of Kievan Rus' between the 10th and 12th centuries and that of Cossack autonomy in the 16th and 17th centuries. During these two periods Ukraine was culturally oriented towards Europe and not towards Russia. At the time of Kievan princes, Russia did not yet exist and Rus' had numerous links to European culture. During the Cossack period Western influences (mediated through Poland) resulted in the renaissance of Ukrainian culture. Thus, Dovzhenko's paradigm for Ukrainian identity was entrenched in experiences divorced from Russian presence. This coincided with the shift "away from Moscow" envisioned by Khvylovyi for Ukrainian socialist culture.

Nonetheless, Dovzhenko's historical tales are cast in an ironic mode. He employs cinematic devices (discussed in greater detail below) which suggest that a Romantic approach to history, like the hidden treasures of Zvenyhora, belong to the past. Leonid Skrypnyk noted that "while some might have liked the national Romanticism of the film, have they not noticed Dovzhenko's biting sarcasm towards that Romanticism?"[111]

Whether the average contemporary Ukrainian viewer interpreted the film as a national communist platform cannot be verified. However, the critical response that appeared in Ukrainian newspapers and journals allows us to conclude that Ukrainian intellectuals did perceive *Zvenyhora* in this fashion. Shortly after its release in Ukraine[112] *Zvenyhora* was hailed as "the first Ukrainian film." In speaking of the film, Leonid Skrypnyk stated: "Dovzhenko made *Zvenyhora* and in doing so started Ukrainian cinema. Such ideas were expressed at a public preview of this film at KhRK. We support this idea."[113]

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[111] L. Skrypnyk, "*Zvenyhora* O. Dovzhenka," *Nova generatsiia* no. 3 (1927), 58.

[112] *Zvenyhora* was released in Kharkiv and Kyiv on February 13, 1929. Early versions of the film were shown to the public (hromads'ki perehliady) and to critics as early as October 1927. Kutsenko, *Storinky*, 47-52.

Similar statements were voiced by numerous Ukrainian critics. In one respect such claims were inaccurate. In 1928 cinema in Ukraine had to its credit well over one hundred feature films, in addition to many documentary, educational and propaganda shorts.[114] Were the critics ignorant of these facts? It is very unlikely. For them, *Zvenyhora* was the first Ukrainian film not because of the place of its production but because it expressed a world view that no film had been able to present up to this point. *Zvenyhora* touched upon an essential element of national cinema which Andrew Higson has termed "sensibility, or structure of feeling."[115] *Zvenyhora* contained elements which made it more "Ukrainian" than film adaptations of Ukrainian literary classics.[116]

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[113] Skrypnyk, "*Zvenyhora*," 56.

[114] On the quantitative aspect of VUFKU's feature film production, see Appendix 1 in Denise J. Youngblood, *Soviet Cinema in the Silent Era 1918-1935* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991). On the Ukrainian film industry during the 1920s, see, for example, Akademiia Nauk Ukrains'koi RSR, *Istoriia Ukrains'koho Radians'koho kino* vol. 1 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1986); O. Shymon, *Storinky z istorii kino na Ukraini* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1964) and idem, *Stranitsy biografii ukrainskogo kino* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1974).

[115] Andrew Higson, "The Concept of National Cinema," *Screen* 30.4 (1989): 43.

With *Zvenyhora* Dovzhenko established himself as the foremost Ukrainian film director. Even before the film officially opened in Ukraine it had received wide critical acclaim in the Ukrainian press.[117] In addition to acknowledging its primacy as a Ukrainian film the critics sought to convey to their readers the impression made by the film:

> ...[F]rom beginning to end the film pulsates with a hot blood of dynamics, with lively and deep creative thought and with great social content. It is difficult to logically demonstrate how the director has achieved such effects. It is a problem for film specialists.[118]

Film specialists, with the notable exceptions of Leonid Skrypnyk and Oleksii Poltorats'kyi,[119] preferred to write about *Zvenyhora* in terms of its contribution to Ukrainian socialist culture. Interestingly, the most prominent critics saw the film as an expression of both the national and the social:

> The first and most important achievement of Zvenyhora is its direct connection to the ground from which it has sprung. The ideas of our day blossom in it; it is the work of a contemporary man: lyrical, the most lyrical work of a man living

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[116] The Ukrainization of the Ukrainian film industry throughout the 1920s was most often carried out through adaptations of the 19th century Ukrainian literary classics.

[117] For a complete list of reviews, see Nebesio, 21-23.

[118] Savchenko, *Narodzhennia...*, 7.

[119] The cinematic aspect of *Zvenyhora* is discussed in Skrypnyk, "*Zvenyhora*," 56-58; and Oleksii Poltorats'kyi, *Etiudy do teorii kina* (Kyiv: Ukrteakinovydav, 1930).

> in 'non-lyrical times.'[120]

Another critic approached *Zvenyhora* in light of Khvylovyi's opposition to "prosvita" and to the "Little Russian" orientation of Ukrainian culture. E. Cherniak wrote that:

> [*Zvenyhora*] was a bomb that hit both the Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian bourgeois with equal strength. The former, because it was saturated with deep class content, and the latter because it was a deadly blow to the 'prosvita' and 'Little Russian' orientations.[121]

The majority of Ukrainian critics praised the film as the success of a young socialist state, the Ukrainian SSR. They saw the film as an expression of the "national in form and socialist in content" doctrine on which Ukrainization has been based. Mykola Bazhan, in the first monograph on Dovzhenko, writes:

> A film of a state which builds socialism, a film of the class which frees nations—that is what *Zvenyhora* is. Because of that it is both a deeply national and deeply international film. ... [*Zvenyhora*] speaks of the pride of a country, which with other countries builds happiness for all of humanity, of the pride of a country called Soviet Ukraine.[122]

Bazhan's statement, written two years after the release of *Zvenyhora*, adopts a polemical tone in an attempt to defend the film and its director.

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[120] Mykola Bazhan, "*Zvenyhora*," *Zhyttia i revoliutsiia* no. 1 (1928), 111.

[121] E. Cherniak, "Shliakhy ukrains'koi radians'koi kinematohrafii," *Krytyka* no. 5 (1929),88.

[122] Mykola Bazhan, *O. Dovzhenko: Narys pro myttsia* (Kyiv: VUFKU, 1930), 17.

The strongest attack on the film in Ukraine came from circles which evaluated the arts only in terms of their comprehensibility to the masses. In a tone which mirrored the literary discussion "a letter to the editor from a concerned citizen in the provinces"[123] called *Zvenyhora* a "Futurist film" which does not "touch upon the emotions of the viewer." The author of one such letter concludes that when a film cannot "win the viewer's sympathy, it means that the film was badly made."[124]

Dovzhenko replied lightly:

> Dear viewer, if you do not understand something do not think that you are facing something incomprehensible or bad. Rather look for reasons of incomprehension in yourself. Maybe you are simply unable to think. And my goal is to force you to think when you watch my film. When a girl next to you whispers to you "I don't like it," get up and, without wasting your time, go with her to another theatre: my film is a Bolshevik film.[125]

Dovzhenko retaliated by suggesting that his film may have been difficult to understand because it is a Bolshevik picture rather than a bourgeois one. He implied that a true Bolshevik would understand *Zvenyhora* and casted doubt on the political affiliation of his critics. In 1928 such polemics were acceptable and artists often used their literary skills to make fun of "graphomaniacs." Dovzhenko only published this kind of reply once. When attacks on his films intensified and criticism became more absurd, he opted for silence.

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[123] Such letters, often anonymous or spurious, became a preferred genre for accusations and denunciations in the Soviet press of the 1930s.

[124] F. Oliinikiv, "*Zvenyhora* v provintsii," *Kino* no. 5 (1928), (quoted in Briukhovets'ka).

[125] O. Dovzhenko, "Pro svii fil'm," in *Zvenyhora: Zbirnyk* (Kyiv: VUFKU, 1928), 43-44.

While Ukrainian critics generally praised *Zvenyhora*, the Russian reaction was one of bewilderment. Moscow's *Kinogazeta* refused to publish Viktor Pertsov's review of the film because

> *Zvenyhora* seem[ed] controversial and the editors [did] not know what the workers [would] say about it. The editors suggest[ed] that before they publish[ed] the review they should conduct an opinion poll about *Zvenyhora* among senior cine-workers.[126]

Pertsov's favourable review eventually appeared in *Novyi Lef*, a Futurist publication. It compared *Zvenyhora* to a child's painting or a primitive drawing in its emotional impact and, supposedly, its lack of technical competence.

Far less favourable was a review published in Moscow's *Pravda*. Displaying an ignorance of Ukrainian history and the realities of the Ukrainian SSR, Khersonskii criticizes the film for its lack of revolutionary zeal and for its favourable portrayal of the Ukrainian past. Blinded by the Russian perspective on the revolution in Ukraine, the critic writes that:

> In general, pre-revolutionary Ukraine was so pleasant to the author; it lived such a peaceful,

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[126] V. Pertsov, "*Zvenigora*," *Novyi Lef* no. 1 (1928), 46.

> interesting life without class differentiation. Nobody exploited anybody? There were only funny, humorous and wonderful tales? And the only problem was that somebody had naively believed in god and the devil, in dreams and in buried treasures?[127]

For the Russian critic Dovzhenko's ironic vision of the romanticized past was an obvious mistake which was not balanced by the "revolutionary pathos" of the film's ending. Khersonskii's concerns demonstrate, once again, that Russocentric and Marxist approaches to *Zvenyhora* assumed by critics (and often adopted by scholars) do little justice to the film.

The frequently repeated, and, in a sense, the most representative of the foreign interpretations of the film are Sergei Eisenstein's remarks on the public screening of *Zvenyhora's* in Moscow in December of 1927. Although it was written in 1940 and influenced by the events of the 1930s, his account conveys the first impression the film made on Eisenstein. He wrote:

> We felt we were succumbing to the irresistible charm of the picture. To the charm that lay in its original ideas, in the wonderful picture of what was real and what was a profoundly national poetic invention, of contemporaneity and legend, of the humorous and pathetic. In some ways reminiscent of Gogol.[128]

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[127] Khris. Khersonskii, "VUFKU na perelome," *Pravda* 10 February 1928.

[128] Sergei Eisenstein, "The Birth of an Artist," in his *Notes of a Film Director*, trans. X. Danko (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1946?), 142.

Eisenstein's view of the film undeniably helped launch Dovzhenko's career in Russia and elsewhere. In 1928 the film was shown in Paris and was warmly received by critics.[129]

Arsenal

Oblivious to accusations of incomprehensibility levelled against him and encouraged by the success of *Zvenyhora*, Dovzhenko wrote the screenplay for his most complex film, *Arsenal*. Thematically the script echoed that of *Zvenyhora*: Dovzhenko remained preoccupied with the Ukrainian revolution. This time the story had less historical breadth and focused, instead, on the events which took place in Ukraine at the end of World War I and which culminated in the failed January uprising of 1918 in Kyiv. But Dovzhenko was not interested in the re-creation of events or in the portrayal of key figures. Except for the fictional protagonist, Tymish, the characters did not have names and were portrayed only as members of the groups which took part in the events.

Soviet accounts of the uprising portray it as a major historical event in Bolshevik martyrdom in Ukraine. However, Soviet historians overlook the fact that the workers involved in the conflict were mainly ethnic Russians who viewed Ukrainians as a threat to the security of the Russian Empire's munitions factory where they worked. By capitalizing on the dissatisfaction the Russians felt with the new Ukrainian government, the Bolsheviks found the supporters they otherwise lacked in the Ukrainian capital. The Bolsheviks also intended to obtain the weapons and ammunition stored there. It is important to remember that the uprising was not a popular revolt of Kievans against the Central Rada but an incident involving Russian workers incited by the Bolsheviks who were eager to establish their power in Ukraine.[130]

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[129] French critic Leon Moussinac saw *Zvenyhora* in Ukraine before its release. His comments are included in *Zvenyhora: Zbirnyk* (Kyiv, VUFKU, 1928), 48. On the film's reception in Paris, see Eugène Deslaw's (Ievhen Deslav) articles: "Uspikh *Zvenyhory* v Paryzhi," *Kul'tura i pobut* 21 April 1928; idem, "*Zvenyhora*—sensatsiia paryz'koho ekranu," *Nove mystetstvo* no. 10-11 (1928), 5.

Thus, it is not surprising that Dovzhenko devoted only the film's ending to the uprising; this despite the fact that the film was promoted as a document of the event. Its Russian title was *Ianvarskoe vosstanie v Kieve v 1918 g* (The January uprising in Kyiv in 1918). Moreover, the opposing forces of the revolt are only vaguely defined, the scenes are intercut with other events which eventually leave the viewer with a feeling of the chaos of the fighting rather than with a clear political message.

There is no story line which would summarize the events which take place in *Arsenal* and which would justify the episodic structure of the film. As an early critic noted,

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[130] See John Reshetar, Jr., "The Communist Party of the Ukraine and Its Role in the Ukrainian Revolution," in Hunczak, 164-65, 173 and Subtelny, 352.

> *Arsenal*, from the point of view of the traditional understanding of "theme," "story," etc. cannot be described in a satisfactory manner; the film goes far beyond such terminology—it is much deeper and much more substantial than this terminology.[131]

The film also evades traditional classification according to genre. The same critic notes that in order classify the film one must resort to literary terminology. "In regards to its tone, [*Arsenal* is] a ballad, a poem, or a *duma*,[132] but fully saturated with contemporary psychology."[133]

The character of Tymish appears in most of the film's episodes, thus linking them together and providing some semblance of narrative continuity. This is not, however, a "cause-and-effect" narrative. It is built around a character, who appears in events which follow a rough chronological order. The development of Tymish's character, in particular his social and national identity, reflects the peculiarity of the Ukrainian revolution. At the beginning of the film when a recruitment officer questions Tymish on his nationality he identifies himself as a worker. At the film's end, as Tymish faces enemy rifles in a torn shirt, he declares himself a Ukrainian worker. This is yet another of Dovzhenko's attempts to reconcile two seemingly contradictory components of the Ukrainian revolution. The mythologization of a Ukrainian worker as an indestructible force represents faith in the possibility of a Ukrainian workers' state. This Borotbist stance was not popular with the government in Moscow at the time when *Arsenal* was released. It is for this reason that Tymish's national-revolutionary development never comes to the film's foreground.

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[131] Iakiv Savchenko, "*Arsenal*," *Krytyka* no. 3 (1929), 106.

[132] Duma—lyrico-epic work of folk origin dealing usually with Cossacks. It did not have a set strophic structure, but consisted of uneven segments that were governed by the unfolding story. Each segment constituted a finished, syntactical whole and conveyed a complete thought. Dumas were performed in recitative to the accompaniment of a *bandura*, *kobza*, or *lira*. For an English translation see *Ukrainian Dumy*, trans. George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina (Toronto and Cambridge, MA: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1979).

[133] Savchenko, "*Arsenal*," 106.

A pacifist message is assigned a higher profile throughout the film. In unrelated episodes Dovzhenko attempts to show the destruction and violence brought on by war and revolution and how those caught in conflict suffer the most. Unlike other, so-called revolutionary filmmakers of the 1920s, Dovzhenko takes a humanist approach to war and revolution. A mother loses her sons in a conflict; a soldier contemplates the unjustified killing of the bourgeois; mothers of "war babies" await their husbands' return from war; incompetent revolutionaries take over a train, killing themselves and others—these are the scenes which strike one as departures from the "doctrinaire" films of Pudovkin and Eisenstein. Dovzhenko gives universal appeal to the human suffering of war and revolution. The use of titles in various languages and careful national characterization produce a generalized portrait of the human condition rather than depict a localized conflict.

Reactions to *Arsenal* in the Ukrainian press focused on the different parties portrayed in the Ukrainian revolution. In a fashion similar to more contemporary debates on the representation of class, gender and race critics accused Dovzhenko of favouring one group over another and of "unrealistic" portrayals. Some critics felt that the grotesque manners in which the Central Rada was presented in *Arsenal* was inappropriate because it undermined the counter-revolutionary power of the government.[134] This argument mirrored Ukrainian political attitudes of the time. A campaign designed to illustrate the potential threat from former Central Rada members had just begun and culminated in the SVU process I described above. Critics were particularly distressed that the ridiculed forces of the Central Rada were, in the end, able to defeat the revolutionary proletariat of the arsenal. For the critics this implied that the achievements of the Bolsheviks paled in comparison. One critic recommended changes to the film which would provide the viewer with "the social-economic conditions, in order to explain the reasons for further struggles between the national movement and the social revolution."[135] Similar sentiments were, however, echoed by few.

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[134] Before the official release of *Arsenal*, *Komsomolets' Ukrainy* published a critical reaction to the film. Writers associated with the avant-garde took negative stand against the film, probably as part of their campaign against Khvylovyi. See F. Lopatyns'kyi, "Pliusy i minusy *Arsenalu*," *Komsomolets' Ukrainy* 21 December 1928; M. Mais'kyi, "Zamist' epopei—fars," *Komsomolets' Ukrainy* 21 December 1928 and V. Polishchuk, "Fal'shyvyi *Arsenal*," *Komsomolets' Ukrainy* 21 December 1928.

The majority of Ukrainian critics saw *Arsenal* as another great achievement of Ukrainian cinema. The film was praised for its "realistic" portrayal of the forces which took part in the Ukrainian revolution. In defense of *Arsenal*, critics turned to the film's epic dimension. Some even predicted that *Arsenal's* iconography would have an influence on the future of the arts.[136] Mykhailo Panchenko wrote: "without the slightest exaggeration it can be said that *Arsenal* will have great importance for the plastic arts. It presents an entire exhibition of monumental pictures from the time of the imperial war, an entire exhibition of types, on the basis of which entire groups and even classes can be distinguished. Critiques of the film's chronological and poster-like character is entirely unjustified."[137] The issue of representation seems to have dominated Ukrainian responses to *Arsenal*.[138]

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[135] Favst Lopatyns'kyi, quoted in Panchenko, "Deshcho pro styl' ta ideolohiiu *Arsenala*," *Literatura i mystetstvo* 2 March 1929.

[136] On the issue of *Arsenal*'s influence on the socialist realist style of the 1930s see Murray Smith, "The Influence of Socialist Realism on Soviet Montage: *The End of St. Petersburg*, *Fragment of an Empire* and *Arsenal*," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19.1 (1994), 45-65.

[137] Mykhailo Panchenko, "Deshcho pro styl'..."

Conspicuously absent from the discussion was the question whether the masses of proletarian viewers would understand the film. Generally critics agreed that *Arsenal* was a revolutionary picture in both form and content. Few, however, attempted to focus on its formal aspects. Iakiv Savchenko's extended review is an exception worth noting. In it, the author attempts to show the particular effects which Dovzhenko achieves by departing from conventional storytelling techniques and speculates on the difficulty of producing such effects within the parameters of traditional filmmaking. Savchenko concludes that after *Arsenal* "it would be difficult to speak more strongly and to present broader and deeper pictures of October."[139]

The positive and laudatory tone of the Ukrainian response to *Arsenal* was especially evident after the film had received good reviews in Moscow. This marked a new era in Ukrainian criticism of the arts. Throughout the Soviet period, beginning in the 1930s, Ukrainian critics did not express their opinions until the central Moscow press had set a tone. This reticence began to exhibit itself with *Arsenal*. After *Pravda* and *Izvestiia* in Moscow proclaimed that the film was acceptable,

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[138] For a complete list of reviews, see Nebesio, 24-27.

[139] Savchenko, "*Arsenal*," 113.

Ukrainian papers did not publish negative reviews of it. The negative comments made by Lopatyns'kyi and Polishchuk on *Arsenal* were possible only because a pattern had not yet been fully established.

A few days before *Arsenal* opened in Moscow, both *Pravda* and *Izvestiia* reviewed the film, which was shown within the context of Ukrainian Culture week. Luckily for Dovzhenko, Henri Barbusse[140] saw the preview of *Arsenal* and wrote about the film for *Izvestiia* and for the French weekly, *Le Monde*. Known for his pacifist novels Barbusse was especially pleased with Dovzhenko's portrayal of war in the film.

Khersonskii's review of *Arsenal* in *Pravda* was much more thoughtful and positive than his review of *Zvenyhora*. He discusses Dovzhenko's formal experimentation and is one of the first critics to compare *Arsenal* to a poem. He writes that:

> the Ukrainian revolution poses a number of specific problems and demands for artists. Dovzhenko attempts to solve them not as a historian but as a poet. [...] In its content [the film] approaches a psychological memoir and in its form, in its expressive language a condensed-lyrical and musical poem."[141]

Khersonskii warns, however, that the film is highly experimental and the audience's reaction to it needs to be gauged. He concludes that *Arsenal* is one of the best Soviet revolutionary films and highly recommends it for public viewing.

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[140] Henri Barbusse (1873-1935)—French communist writer and editor of *L'Humanite*; often visited the Soviet Union.

[141] Kh. Khersonskii, "Novoe slovo ukrainskoi kinematografii," *Pravda* 14 February 1929.

While *Zvenyhora* had established Dovzhenko as a significant film director in Ukraine, *Arsenal* did the same within a Soviet context. The predominantly positive reaction to *Arsenal* may be surprising in light of its unclear revolutionary message, its pacifist undertones and openly formalist style. This reaction may be partially explained by the timing of *Arsenal*'s Moscow release. The war on Ukrainian nationalism had not yet been openly declared. Stalin's shift vis-à-vis national policy was first pronounced at a meeting with the Ukrainian writers just two days before the reviews of the film appeared in the central newspapers.[142] This policy was not made public immediately. Similarly, the "SVU affair" did not make headlines until the summer of 1929. Therefore, the tone of *Arsenal's* reception was set by reviews in Moscow papers shortly before its "deviations" were officially recognized as such.

Arsenal and *Zvenyhora* were bought for distribution in western Europe and North America by the German company "Prometheus." In June of 1929 Dovzhenko went to Berlin to edit the German intertitles and reedit some scenes in *Arsenal*. The distributor even had plans to combine *Zvenyhora* and *Arsenal* into one film, a plan strongly objected by Dovzhenko.[143] By the end of 1929 *Arsenal* had premiered in most European countries and in North America. The film was received enthusiastically. The National Board of Review placed it among the five best European films of 1929 alongside Dreyer's *Passion of Joan of Arc*. It was particularly welcomed by the American left who praised it in their publications.[144] For many critics comparisons with other Soviet masters were inevitable. A French critic, for example, wrote that he valued

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[142] See note 103.

> Dovzhenko as the greatest contemporary Soviet director, greater than Eisenstein and Pudovkin. Dovzhenko is more lively, more straight-forward and less "doctrinaire" than Eisenstein...[145]

Zemlia

After his return from Berlin Dovzhenko started work on *Zemlia*. He disappeared from public life for three months, retreating to the village of Iares'ky where he shot the film. His absence from the major Ukrainian centres was a fortunate coincidence for Dovzhenko. At the time of the SVU affair he was not obliged to take part in public denunciations and was also out of sight of those critics who were eager to uncover nationalist deviations in his films. Upon his return to Kyiv, where a new film studio had just been built, Dovzhenko took an unusually active part in public life. His schedule was filled with meeting workers, party groups and communist youth members.[146] He even signed a declaration titled "We'll make a mass Ukrainian film," which seemed to completely contradict his earlier views on art.[147] It seems that Dovzhenko tried to prove his loyalty to the shifting positions in the Ukrainian film industry and in political life. In addition to his active political gestures Dovzhenko continued to work on *Zemlia*. In November of 1929, he went with his crew to the Caucasus to reshoot a number of scenes. The post-production of the film also progressed quickly. In February of 1930 the film was ready and was accepted by the VUFKU's political committee. The official pronouncement stated, among other things, "that *Zemlia*'s ideological direction fully reflects the party's line and efforts to reconstruct agriculture."[148]

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[143] Kutsenko, *Storinky*, 65-66.

[144] For example, *The Daily Worker* had articles on *Arsenal* on 4, 11 and 13 November 1929. See also Harry Potamkin, "A in the Art of the Movie and Kino," *New Masses* 5 December 1929. In Ukrainian leftist emigre press see Mykola Tarnovs'kyi, "*Arsenal*," *Ukrains'ki shchodenni visti* (New York) 13 November 1929

[145] M. Falk quoted in *Kino* no. 3 (1930), 4.

With *Zemlia* Dovzhenko returned to a more acceptable narrative form. It was also his first film to deal with contemporary issues rather than a historical subject. *Zemlia* is set in a Ukrainian village of the 1920s and tells of the party's struggle to introduce collective farming. Again, the storyline is quite simple. A young communist, Vasyl, acquires a tractor with the help of a local party organization and plans to introduce new collective methods of farming. Despite opposition from wealthier farmers, Vasyl ploughs through the fences. One night when he returns home he is shot dead. The second part of the film depicts Vasyl's funeral, during which his killer confesses and then punishes himself; the village population joins the funeral procession led by party activists. The film ends as they sing songs to a new life.

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[146] Kutsenko, *Storinky*, 67-72.

[147] Kutsenko, *Storinky*, 71.

[148] Quoted in Kutsenko, *Storinky*, 73.

Like his other films, *Zemlia*'s subject matter and story line appear politically correct on the surface. They would even have withstood the socialist realist critics of the 1930s. But Dovzhenko, by his own admission, is not interested in the stories themselves.[149] His concern for the human condition diminishes the importance of the revolutionary changes in Soviet Ukraine. This is most strongly manifested in *Zemlia* and accounts for the appreciation of the film around the world. In Dovzhenko's rendition a simple class struggle story becomes a philosophical meditation on life and death. Revolutionary change loses its significance and becomes part of the natural cycle where death brings new life. The murder of Vasyl is not a crime committed against a class but a transgression against the community, against the land. The killer does not have to be punished by others. He punishes himself by trying to return to the soil. In this natural process Vasyl's death is balanced by the birth of his sibling. Faith in god is substituted with faith in technology, represented by a tractor and an airplane. The natural balance remains undisturbed. The changes in the Ukrainian village follow some unidentified intrinsic and natural order, rather than that of Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

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[149] Dovzhenko, "My Method," *Experimental Cinema* 1.5 (1934), 23.

Intensified efforts to collectivize Russia generated an angry response among Moscow's critics. Their evaluation of *Zemlia* was so strong that it prompted a *The New York Times* correspondent to report on it. The article's title, "Moscow in Furor over 'Kulak' Movie," best summarizes the atmosphere generated by the film.[150] Demian Bednyi is the critic who was responsible for the fate of *Zemlia*.[151] In his review, written in verse form, he claims that *Zemlia* is "a counterrevolutionary" and "pro-kulak film." According to Bednyi, the film's content is masked beneath Dovzhenko's masterful film technique. He accuses Dovzhenko of "tasting sexual and philosophical problems" at a time when he should have concentrated on themes of class struggle.

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[150] Walter Duranty, "Moscow in Furor over 'Kulak' Movie," *New York Times* 10 April 1930.

[151] Demian Bednyi, "Filosofy," *Izvestiia* 4 April 1930. The author (pseudonym of Efim Pridvorov) (1883-1945) was a Kremlin poet and considered a pioneer of the "socialist realist" style in poetry. Duranty characterizes him as "a sort of Red poet-laureate, publishing reams of doggerel but generally quite apt verse in *Pravda* and other Moscow newspapers on topical subjects." *New York Times* 10 April 1930.

Bednyi's article accomplished two things: it initiated a heated debate among both Ukrainian and Russian critics and it resulted in the deletion of several sequences from the film. Because Bednyi's review ridiculed official censors for having failed to act, those responsible for censorship responded. Within a week several scenes had been censored, including shots of naked Natalka grieving during Vasyl's funeral, Vasyl's mother in labour, and the scene in which coolant from a tractor's radiator is replaced with urine.[152]

Reaction to Bednyi's "poem" went beyond the official press.[153] As Duranty reports, "Bednyi's outburst started a tremendous commotion. Factory and workers' clubs became the scenes of debates to discuss the film, and the scribes spent ink in floods for it or against it."[154] The workers' sudden interest in the film, prior to *Zemlia*'s official release in Kyiv on April 8, 1930, suggests that the attack on the film was orchestrated and planned.

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[152] Bednyi wrote a brief follow-up to the article (also in verse) in which he lists those scenes which should be cut by the censors. See his "'Kononizatsiia' ili 'chto i trebovalos' dokazat'! (i diskussii o kinofil'me *Zemlia*)," *Izvestiia* 6 April 1930. Duranty claims that the shortened version of *Zemlia* was shown to foreign journalists on April 10, 1930 and was supposed to be shown in major Soviet cities on the same day. The cuts to *Zemlia* were restored after Dovzhenko's death. On differences between various versions of *Zemlia* in circulation in North America see Roman Savyts'kyi, "Pomiry *Zemli* O. Dovzhenka." *Suchasnist'* no. 7-8 (1975), 106-12. Eugène Deslaw claims that some cuts to Zemlia were made by the Italian communists before the film was shown in Venice. He recalls a scene in which a peasant returns home after the land has been collectivized. See [Ievhen Deslav], "Dovzhenko i Stalin," *Ukrains'kyi ohliad* no. 6 (1961), 79.

[153] Dovzhenko mentions the damage done by Bednyi's article on several occasions in his 1939 autobiography. He even gets back at the critic: "But a few days later [around April 20, 1930] I found myself at the crematorium as part of the honour

Not all Russian critics shared Bednyi's views. Although they all seem to agree that the "biological" motivations of the characters cloud the question of class struggle, many considered this a minor "mistake" in an otherwise sound film.[155] Scenes which were eventually cut by censors were considered "flaws" by critics on both sides of the debate.

A defense of *Zemlia* came five days after Bednyi's attack. The proletarian writers, Vladimir Kirshon, Aleksandr Fadeev, and V. Sutyrin, called Bednyi's attack unfair and argued that Dovzhenko had already proven his loyalty to the Soviet cause. Interestingly, they also invented episodes from the director's biography to support their argument. They wrote that: "Dovzhenko [was] a poor peasant, learned to read only after

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guard at the funeral of Vladimir Mayakovsky, with whom I had always been on very good terms. Bedny stood in front of me. I stared at his greasy head and passionately thought to myself: Die! But he was immune. So we left the crematorium alive and unharmed." Dovzhenko, "Autobiography," 21.

[154] Duranty, "Moscow in Furor over 'Kulak' Movie," *New York Times* 10 April 1930.

[155] See for example, P. Bliakhin, *"Zemlia,"* *Pravda* 29 March 1930.

the revolution; [and that] he spent the civil war as a fighter in the Red Army."[156] Later these episodes, as stated above, entered many Soviet writings about Dovzhenko and became part of his official biographies.

In Ukraine, the reaction to *Zemlia* reflected a fierce political battle among literary and cultural groups. The film reviews were often used to score political points in the fight for survival. The most vicious attack came from Futurist circles and the journal *Nova generatsiia* which reprinted a resolution of the All-Ukrainian Association of the Workers of Revolutionary Cinema (VUORRK) dated April 6, 1930. In it, the organization defends the film and criticizes cuts to it. Overall the organization considered *Zemlia* to be a great artistic success.[157] Furthermore, the organization strongly protested against Bednyi's article, which it considered an attack on "all Ukrainian Soviet cinema and on all its workers."[158]

While the resolution reflects the general critical reception of *Zemlia* in Ukraine, the editors of *Nova generatsiia* used this opportunity to launch an attack on the critical community. In an ironic twist, the journal stated (following the resolution) that the film community, instead of offering competent criticism, praised "allegedly proletarian art of questionable (to say the least) ideological quality..."[159] In this same issue of the journal another attack on *Zemlia* appeared. Iulian Zet, in an ironic feuilleton made fun of *Zemlia's* "philosophy" and suggested that it had a negative impact on proletarian viewers. In addition to the sin of pornography, the author identifies the film with "provincialism" and "Little Russianism."[160] This accusation unmistakably refers to the literary discussion in which Vaplite, including Dovzhenko, strongly attacked the provincialism of Ukrainian art and its "Little Russian" orientation. Zet implies that Dovzhenko, by making a film about village life, betrays Vaplite and its high artistic standards. This attack, aimed to please the party, did not succeed in helping *Nova generatsiia* to survive.[161]

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[156] V. Kirshon; A. Fadeev; V. Sutyrin, "O kartine Dovzhenko *Zemlia*," *Pravda* 9 April 1930. Vladimir Kirshon (1902-1938) dramatist and leading member of RAPP was executed in 1938. Aleksandr Fadeev (1901-1956), a prominent writer, leading member of RAPP (1926-32), and later general secretary of the Writers' Union of the USSR. V. Sutyrin is not mentioned in Soviet sources.

[157] Iu. B-t., "VUORRK ta *Zemlia*," *Nova generatsiia* no. 5 (1930), 52.

[158] Ibid., 53.

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[159] Ibid., 53.

[160] Iulian Zet, "'Mat' malorosiia:' kino-kartyna *Zemlia* ta proletars'kyi hliadach," *Nova generatsiia* no. 5 (1930), 53-55. Iulian Zet was a pseudonym of Iulian Zapadyns'kyi. Little else is known about him.

[161] *Nova generatsiia* ceased to exist in January of 1931. For details on this Futurist organisation and its journal see chap. 5 in Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj, *Ukrainian Futurism, 1914-1930: An Historical and Critical Study* (Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian

Critics who viewed *Zemlia* as an achievement were few. Iakiv Savchenko, once again, proved to be the most perceptive in this respect.[162] Others were predominantly foreigners who reviewed the film abroad. The reviews of H.P.J. Marshal and a chapter on *Zemlia* by Paul Rotha are particularly thorough.[163]

Attacks on *Zemlia* and on Dovzhenko intensified and a statement of recantation was demanded of him by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. In June of 1930 he managed to go abroad on a tour promoting his films. With Iuliia Solntseva and Danylo Demuts'kyi, the director visited Germany,[164] Czechoslovakia, France and Britain. He spent over four months travelling, visiting film studios, learning about sound films and showing *Zemlia*. Like Eisenstein, Dovzhenko was also seeking an opportunity to make a film in the West. There was the possibility of making a film in France.[165] In a letter

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Research Institute, 1995).

[162] Iakiv Savchenko, "Maister syntezy," *Zhyttia i revolutsiia* no. 1 (1930), 141-54. This review and his reviews of *Zvenyhora* and *Arsenal* were published the same year in book form: *Narodzhennia ukrains'koho radians'koho kina: Try fil'my O. Dovzhenka* (Kyiv: Ukrteakinovydav), 1930).

[163] H. P. J. Marshal, "Zimla (Earth)," Close-up 7.3 (1930). 171-76; Paul Rotha, "Earth," in his *Celluloid—The Film To-Day* (London: Longmans, Green, 1933), 135-53.

[164] According to a British reviewer *Zemlia* was banned in Germany on the basis of its being an antireligious propaganda. See R. H., "Dovjenko's *The Earth*," *The Manchester Guardian* 11 September 1930.

[165] Kutsenko, *Storinky*, 81.

to Eisenstein, Dovzhenko also indicated that he hoped to go to the United States and work on a project there.[166] None of the projects materialized and Dovzhenko returned to Ukraine at the end of October 1930.

In the increasingly hostile atmosphere at the Kyiv Studio Dovzhenko managed to complete one more film, *Ivan*, before he sought refuge in Moscow. His subsequent three feature films were made there. The fact that these were the sole products of his stay of twenty-three years indicates that his talents never again flourished as they did in the period when he made his silent trilogy. The revisionist tendencies of the Stalinist critics downplayeed the cinematic achievements of his silent trilogy and portrayed Dovzhenko as hostile to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. His worldview, according to critics, had "uncontrolled layers of petit-bourgeois ideology."[167]

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The details of Dovzhenko's life presented above are crucial to an understanding of his films. They affect not only the thematic concerns of the films but also influence his stylistic choices. The details of Dovzhenko's training, his work and his artistic alliances have direct bearing on the formal structure of the films and ultimately lead to a more accurate description of his style. The following three chapters will show how the historical circumstances described above merge with film practices to produce Dovzhenko's cinema. They will also demonstrate that such a fusion contributes to the notion of "poetic cinema" often ascribed to Dovzhenko's films.

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[166] Dovzhenko, "Pis'mo Eizenshteinu," *Iskusstvo kino* no. 5 (1958), 132.

[167] I. Iurchenko, "*Ivan* i tvorchi pytannia radians'koho kina," *Za markso-lenins'ku krytyku* no. 1 (1933), 75.

II. Photographic Images

In film studies Soviet cinema of the 1920s is often referred to as montage cinema or the "montage tradition." The importance of montage has been stressed by filmmakers and theoreticians alike and discussion of what constitutes the smallest element of the montage process often dominated Soviet writings on cinema of the time. Critics debated whether a shot, a sequence or a "visual attraction" constituted montage.[1] A long list of elements that range from set design to acting were considered as the elements influencing the montage process. Skrypnyk's *Sketches on the Theory of Cinema Art* presents an interesting variation on this theme.[2] Skrypnyk distinguishes between the elements that form a montage sequence (as elaborated by other authors) and their photographic interpretation. For Skrypnyk only photographic images enter montage. All else in cinema—sets, objects, actors, lighting, framing, camera angle, etc.—are necessary components in the creation of a photographic image.

This chapter observes Skrypnyk's distinction and deals with photographic images in Dovzhenko's films. My purpose is to analyze the various elements that form such images, bearing in mind that only photographic interpretations of these elements, or "visual attractions," enter the montage process.[3] While this distinction may seem obvious it is rarely observed in film literature. Skrypnyk illustrates the point with an example of the treatment of actors: while actors receive unjustified attention from filmmakers, critics, scholars and audiences, no one pays much attention to their photographic images despite the fact that what the viewer actually sees in the darkness of the movie theatre is a photographic image and not a real person.[4]

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[1] See my article "Kino-Yazyk: A Study in the Russian Formalists' Concepts of Film Language," *S—Europäische Zeitschrift für Semiotische Studien* 6.1-2 (1994), 229-51.

[2] Leonid Skrypnyk, *Narysy z teorii mystetstva kino* (Kyiv: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1928).

This chapter addresses a number of issues which, traditionally, have been grouped under the category of mise-en-scène. While this term is firmly established within the discipline it has acquired new meanings and differs significantly from its original theatrical definition. Mise-en-scène, from an ontological perspective, groups elements which cinema has borrowed from the pictorial arts and theatre, such as framing, composition, lighting and decor. Often, the methodology employed to analyze these elements in film is also borrowed. While there is nothing wrong with borrowing from more established scholarly disciplines, concepts need to be verified and their validity tested before they can be successfully applied to the study of film.

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[3] The term "visual attraction" is attributed to Eisenstein's articles written in 1923 and 1924. However, Eisenstein does not make a distinction between the "visual attraction" as a staged event and its photographic representation. For Skrypnyk only the photographic interpretation can be termed a "visual attraction" because it only enters the montage process. See Eisenstein, "The Montage of Attractions" and "The Montage of Film Attractions" in his *Selected Works* vol. 1, ed. and trans. Richard Taylor (London: BFI, 1988), 33-58.

[4] Scholarship on representation in cinema sometimes distinguishes between the real person and the created image (not always photographic) but such discussion is, unfortunately, limited to ideological or political, rather than aesthetic, implications.

The most common misunderstandings arise when a cinematic frame is treated like the static frame of a painting or of a theatrical stage. A film viewer does not perceive cinematic frames in such a manner. Each frame stays on screen for a sixteenth or twenty-fourth of a second.[5] The human eye cannot perceive a cinematic frame in the same manner it perceives a painting or a stage, as a static image that lasts for an extended period. Even technological advances which allow the viewer to freeze a video frame for a longer period of time (similar to but not corresponding to a frame frozen on a Steenback) will prove that the aesthetics of cinematic frame composition is different from that of a painting.

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[5] Sixteen frames per second was the standard silent speed of the film through a projector. Sound films have a speed of twenty-four frames per second. Since movie cameras were hand operated the speed of cranking varied and 16 frames per second was an ideal rather than the actual speed. See Kevin Brownlow, "Silent Films: What Was the Right Speed?" in *Early Cinema: Space Frame Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (London, BFI, 1990), 282-90.

In this chapter I stress such differences by considering the types of compositional aesthetics employed in Dovzhenko's trilogy as well as the compositional elements which contribute to the notion of "poetic cinema." It has been acknowledged that "Dovzhenko stressed the image more than his famous associates of the 1920s, he did not bombard the viewer with harsh images, but with lyrical ones."[6] I examine those aspects of frame composition which have been considered "lyrical" or "poetic" by critics.

In my discussion of Dovzhenko's poetics, I follow—with slight modifications—Skrypnyk's grouping of the compositional elements of film imagery into three categories: 1) External compositional elements are those elements of a photographic image which stem from the technical parameters of the camera and are, for the most part, controlled by the cameraman. They include framing, camera angle and distance, lighting and point of view. 2) Content includes human figures (actors and acting) objects and backgrounds (sets). 3) While the first two elements are also compositional elements of still photography, rhythmical compositional elements describe those phenomena which put images in motion. This category groups elements which must be viewed in relation to the temporal composition of the image (although spacial composition is also implicit in this organization). Camera movement, movement within the frame, dynamic patterns and repetitions—all contribute to the rhythmical composition of an image. However, before I turn to a discussion of the compositional elements of Dovzhenko's images, an explanation concerning the role of "art director" in the Soviet film industry is in order.

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[6] Douglas Gomery, *Movie History: A Survey* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1991), 156.

1. Art Direction

Dovzhenko's formal training in the visual arts may prompt one to infer that his films strongly reflect his visual preferences. However, any claim that Dovzhenko was in complete control of the graphic aspects of his films would be difficult to support. In the three films discussed here there is no consistency in set design, frame composition and other elements which find their way into the films' compositional structures. This inconsistency exists because different artists served as "art directors" for each film.

Let us consider the various functions performed by the individual credited as *khudozhnyk* in Dovzhenko's films. The Russian counterpart of this title, "khudozhnik fil'ma," is most often translated into English as "art director." Given the differences in the organization of American and Soviet film studios, this is not necessarily a close equivalent. The American "art director" is the person who designs "all settings and properties and oversees the realization of designs, structures, make-up, and costumes."[7] Meanwhile the *khudozhnik kinofil'ma* has much broader responsibilities. He, in fact, is "the author of the visual-decorative aspect of the film. He works in close cooperation with the creative collective, most importantly with the director and the cameraman."[8] In other words, the *khudozhnyk* assumes or co-assumes certain functions which in Hollywood would be performed by the director of photography (cameraman). The *khudozhnyk* contributes to drawings (eskizy) which "define the organization of cinematic space, future mise-en-scène and frame composition."[9] Therefore what has been traditionally considered the responsibility of the director of photography, particularly framing and camera angles, are decided in conjunction with the *khudozhnyk* responsible for the whole visual aspect of the film.[10] As a working thesis, I submit that the influence exerted on Dovzhenko's films by the Krychevs'kyis (father and son) and Iosif Shpinel' was not limited to the film sets. Rather, their influence marked each and every aspect of frame composition in *Zvenyhora*, *Arsenal* and *Zemlia*.

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[7] Jon Gartenberg, *Glossary of Filmographic Terms* (Brussels: FIAF, 1989), 64.

[8] *Kinoslovar' v dvukh tomakh*, vol. 2 (Moskva: Sovetskaia entsiklopediia, 1970), 839.

[9] *Kinoslovar'*, 840.

[10] *Khudozhnyk's* role is thus similar to the role of "production designer" in Hollywood.

The question whether a photographic image (a still or a film sequence) is a work of art has been heatedly debated since the invention of the camera. The accessibility of cameras and the ease with which images can now be reproduced places the art of photography and of filmmaking in a precarious position within the world of art. For many an image that reflects reality has only documentary value. The Formalists, who considered art a conscious activity, distinguished between artistic and non-artistic representations of reality. A wedding picture taken by a personal friend or a video documenting the first days of a newborn child would not be art because "the influence of the personal [on them] is only coincidental, unconscious, without a goal, and unorganized [and] thus non-artistic."[11] The distinction between artistic and non-artistic activities is relevant in any examination of Dovzhenko's films. Like all avant-garde artists of his time Dovzhenko aimed at creating films that were works of art. This was a conscious choice on his part.[12] The artistic qualities of Dovzhenko's films were also recognized by critics. References to *Zvenyhora* as the first Ukrainian film were not coincidental.[13] By this critics meant that *Zvenyhora* was the first Ukrainian cinematic work of art.[14] Moreover, we can assume that Dovzhenko and his collaborators, particularly the cameramen and designers, intended to produce an artistic, photographic representation of reality. Their actions and choices were geared towards this ultimate goal. My discussion of compositional elements will therefore focus on artistic functions of such elements.

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[11] Skrypnyk, 24.

[12] See for, example, Dovzhenko, "Do problemy obrazotvorchoho mystetstva," *Vaplite* no. 1 (1926), 25-36; idem, "Pro svii fil'm," *Zvenyhora: zbirnyk* (Kyiv: VUFKU, 1928), 41-44.

2. External Compositional Elements

The photographic interpretation of reality resulting in the photographic images of a film is, to a great extent, governed by technology. Technical innovation in cinema has always resulted in stylistic change.[15] In silent cinema the absence of advanced technology dictated many artistic choices. The absence of sound was not the only element which forced filmmakers to seek different means of expression. Every other aspect of filmmaking was in its initial phase of development. The art of silent film must be evaluated with reference to standard film practices of the time. The external compositional elements of a photographic image are those features of the image that are govern by technology.

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[13] See my discussion of critical responses to *Zvenyhora* in the previous chapter.

[14] There has been a tradition within the Soviet Union of labelling all feature films "khudozhni fil'my" (artistic films). When and how this tradition emerged requires detailed study.

[15] See, for example, Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* (London: Starword, 1983) or David Bordwell, Janet Steiger and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

2a. Camera and Lighting

Camerawork shows no stylistic consistency in Dovzhenko's silent trilogy. One reason may be that he had two cameramen working with him. Boris Zavelev[16] shot *Zvenyhora* and Danylo Demuts'kyi[17] worked on *Arsenal* and *Zemlia*. But even the latter two differ from each other and point to the influence of other artists—particularly obvious is Shpinel's in *Arsenal*. Zavelev was an experienced cameraman with many films to his credit: he had worked in the pre-revolutionary studio system and on mass produced films. Demuts'kyi, on the other hand, was a newcomer to the industry. A photographer, he was lured into filmmaking during the rapid expansion of the Ukrainian film industry. Zavelev's experience notwithstanding, *Zvenyhora* is competently shot but not as sophisticated as the films Demuts'kyi and Dovzhenko worked upon together. The poetic style attributed to Dovzhenko's films is in large part a result of this collaboration.

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[16] Boris Zavelev (1876-1938) worked as a cameraman beginning in 1914 at the Khanzhonkov studio. He shot about 70 films, most of them with directors Evgenii Bauer and Petr Chardynin. After the revolution he worked for VUFKU in Ialta and Odessa.

[17] Danylo Demuts'kyi (1893-1954), a photographer and cameraman. In 1925 he was awarded a gold medal at the International Exhibition of Applied Arts in Paris. He began his work for VUFKU in 1926. During the 1930s he was exiled to central Asia and forbidden to work in cinema for about 10 years ending in 1943. After his return to Ukraine following the second World War he worked at the Kyiv Film Studio. For his work on *Taras Shevchenko* he was awarded first prize at the Karlovy Vary Film Festival in 1951. See M. Ushakov, *Try operatory* (Kyiv: Ukrteakinovydav, 1930), 5-14; for his complete biography see Leonid Kokhno, *Danylo Porfyrovych Demuts'kyi* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1965).

Demuts'kyi's camerawork prompted critics to call it innovative and "poetic." One of Demuts'kyi's students (and his biographer) wrote:

> Demuts'kyi's camera style is characterized by laconism (nothing superfluous within the frame), monumentality and the certain static quality of his group scenes derived from changes in perspective and from the spacial compositions which were organic to the genre of Dovzhenko's films. The soft changes in lighting along with the soft optical "drawing" of the lens created an enchanting harmony of light and shadow, and made the images highly poetic.[18]

This characterization is typical of statements concerning Demuts'kyi's imagery. Such statements, however, are far too general, require elaboration and need to be supported with examples from the films. A closer look at various aspects of Demuts'kyi's work, should contextualize his work.

One of the reasons Dovzhenko's images are called poetic may be closely connected with the manner of shooting

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[18] Kokhno, 62.

Demuts'kyi developed and which is so prevalent in *Zemlia*. Demuts'kyi's biographer indicates that the cinematographer had mastered the use of a primitive lens called a *monocle*[19] which could not reproduce the sharp edges of objects. As a result, images that were in focus still had a certain softness. Kokhno writes that:

> Demuts'kyi's experience with the *monocle*, which he gained through his work in still photography, gave him the idea of using softened images, which, according to his strong conviction, could better convey the film's idea and bring poetic enchantment to the visual aspect of the film. This was a true innovation in cinematic art.[20]

While this "poetic enchantment" has been acknowledged by many, the use of softened images was not Demuts'kyi's invention. In fact, it was standard practice in Hollywood from approximately 1923. Known as lens diffusion, the technique evolved in conjunction with the extensive use of close-ups and the need to render movie stars more attractive. By the late 1920s this practice was widely used in melodramas and employed in various shot distances. To achieve the softened effect, Hollywood cinematographers used "sheets of coarse gauze in front of the lens, close enough to be out of focus, and sometimes [...] supplemented by using a special lens constructed to give poor definition even when it was nominally in focus."[21] Other techniques used during the late 1920s included vaseline-smeared glass plates and glass diffusing filters.

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[19] The simplest photographic lens consisting of a single piece of glass which is convex on both sides.

[20] Kokhno, 35.

Why, then, did Demuts'kyi's images convey "poetic enchantment" while the images of other filmmakers did not even when they used techniques that were common to the film industry worldwide? There is no simple answer. It may be that Demuts'kyi's experience with image diffusion in photography long before cinema had begun to employ the practice made him more adept at creating this kind of image. His success may also stem from his rejection of the melodramatic cliches typically associated with lens diffusion. Demuts'kyi and Dovzhenko avoided these by applying the technique to shoot objects and landscapes rather than the interiors of villas and female stars.

One of the most memorable sequences in *Zemlia,* one which ends the film, is the montage of images of apples, squashes and other fruit in the rain (E: 944-976). These compositions, inspired by still-life photography, were carefully designed and lit. The rain and dripping water give them movement and rhythm. The lighting of the apples, for example, accentuates their roundness. The softness of their contour enhances this effect. Similarly, the raindrops hitting the apple seem softer and the rhythm they create does not have the sharpness of an image shot through a more conventional lens. When the rain is at its strongest, it hits the squashes and creates a mist which—when diffused—produces fog-like qualities (E: 966). The effect of these shots is less similar to the cinematic than it is to the best examples of French Impressionist painting. These Impressionist qualities are reinforced when the rain gradually fades out and the sun shines on the rain-covered apples (E: 972-976).

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[21] Salt, 187.

Demuts'kyi's images bear the direct imprint of the Impressionists' influence. As Kokhno indicates:

> Demuts'kyi developed his own individual light-plastic concept of frame treatment by rethinking the devices of the old pre-revolutionary masters, and by mastering the light devices of the Impressionists with the help of soft drawing optics...[22]

Demuts'kyi's format preferences also seem to have been shaped by Impressionist aesthetics. As a photographer he had established himself as a master of landscapes and portraits.[23] The fruit and apple sequence described above contains examples of close-ups (apples) and long shots (stacked up squashes).

Demuts'kyi's landscape photography, with and without diffusion, brought him particular recognition. Although

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[22] Kokhno, 62.

[23] Demuts'kyi originally specialized in landscapes but during World War I photographing the countryside could have been interpreted as spying so he turned to portrait photography as a safer form. Ushakov, 6.

Dovzhenko also worked with the famous cameraman Eduard Tisse,[24] he recognized Demuts'kyi's skill and would not trust any other cinematographer to shoot landscapes. While working on *Michurin* (1948) Dovzhenko wrote to Demuts'kyi:

> I ask you, Danylo, to help me. Photograph for me the landscapes the way only you can. Take shots of the flood on the Dnipro River, so it is wide, it is joyful, and everything flows straight ahead: water, trees, houses in the water, and clouds. Take shots of this great flood with feeling, with the joy of a little boy.[25]

Dovzhenko knew that Demuts'kyi landscapes could closely reflect his ideas about the film, its mood and its rhythm. The opening shots of *Zemlia*, four shots of a wheat field (E: 1-4), differ from each other in the placement of the horizon line, which rises with each successive shot.[26] These are fairly static shots except for the swaying movement of the wheat in the breeze. The rhythm of this movement is constant from shot to shot. Demuts'kyi's ability to catch this rhythm, the essence of the prairie landscape, makes the four images not only more interesting to look at, but also sets the rhythm for the sequence that follows. This series is an unconventional beginning for the film.[27]

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[24] Tisse, who served as cameraman for most of Eisenstein's films, is credited as cameraman for Dovzhenko's *Aerograd* (1935).

[25] Dovzhenko, letter to Demuts'kyi, quoted in Kokhno, 63.

[26] See Vance Kepley Jr., "Dovzhenko and Montage: Issues of Style and Narration in Silent Films," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19.1 (1994), 34-35.

Another scene from *Zemlia*, which also uses lens diffusion and is often noted for its poetic qualities is Vasyl's dance. The effect of a moonlit road was achieved by reflecting the light in morning dew. Kokhno recollects that:

> The dance was shot at dawn, when the dust and all around was covered with morning dew. Taking advantage of the *contre-jour* light, the cameraman achieved the effect of golden dust rising at Vasyl's feet, as if he were dancing in the moonlight. This kind of emotionality of the visuals could only be achieved by shooting with the *monocle* lens.[28]

As elsewhere, Demuts'kyi's ingenuity in shooting this scene does not depend on inventing new ways of shooting or lighting, but rather on unusual taste and a sense of harmony with the film's subject.[29]

From a technical point of view the use of lighting in the silent trilogy does not go beyond standard lighting practices in the film industry of the time. Lighting as a formal element in Dovzhenko's work does not seek to attract attention to itself but is subordinated to the stories and changing moods of the films.[30] Having mastered existing lighting techniques, rather than developing new ones, Demuts'kyi and Dovzhenko had greater control over the effect the lighting had on the viewer. They seem to understand how changes in lighting are perceived as changes in the object itself.[31] For example, the silhouetted images of an officer and a soldier (A: 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99-108) give the objects anonymity, deny their individuality and at the same time generalize their condition. Men being executed and casting overpowering shadows on the wall behind them (A: 953-958, 968, 969) or returning soldiers whose shadows are cast over their wives and bastard children (A: 269, 271, 273) are images that alter the viewer's perception of these individuals.

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[27] Many attempted to imitate this sequence. For example, the Taviani Brothers' *La notte di San Lorenzo* (*The Night of the Shooting Stars*, in the U.S., 1981) set a battle between Fascists and Communists in a grain field. Their establishing shots remind us of Demuts'kyi's landscapes. An even more direct reference to *Zemlia* is the Fascist father's self-punishment scene which echoes Khoma's act of self-punishment in the Ukrainian film.

[28] Kokhno, 38. (*contre-jour* may mean backlighting or shooting against the sunlight)

[29] Lens diffusion for night scenes shot in sunlight was used in the films of Rene Clair. See Salt, 187.

As stated above, Iosif Shpinel's role as *khudozhnyk* in *Arsenal* influenced the visual style of this film. The prevalence of diagonal lines in *Arsenal* is particularly striking. This effect was achieved by simply altering camera placement, thereby turning horizontal lines into diagonals within the frame. Most shots before the train crash form diagonals, as do those of staircases, bridges and buildings. In one instance the horizontal plane of a bridge moves to form a semi-diagonal. This primitive form of animation is achieved by taking five shots of the bridge with a tilted camera, with the right-hand side of the bridge remaining static for all the images (A: 808-812). The bridge thus gives the impression of turning clockwise and the fixed point forms the axis. The composition of the sequence is reminiscent of the famous lion sequence in *Battleship Potemkin*. However, while Eisenstein's sequence animated a stone lion as a symbol within the film's narrative, Dovzhenko-Shpinel's image explores the formal graphic possibilities of a line within a frame.

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[30] By this I mean that the use of light in Dovzhenko does not catch the viewer's attention as it does in some of the German Expressionist films.

[31] Skrypnyk wrote: "Remembering that changes in the character of photographic interpretation of an object by a viewer are inevitably perceived as changes in the *object* itself, one can understand how powerful device lighting is in the hands of a competent director." Skrypnyk, 26.

Generally speaking, Dovzhenko's compositions, with the exception of Demuts'kyi's landscapes, do not depart remarkably from the standards of the time. First of all, the landscape, particularly the unpopulated landscape, was not often used in cinema. The shots at the beginning of *Zemlia*, with their depth-of-field and the rhythm of swaying wheat—which remained on screen for a relatively long period of time—are an anomaly. They invite the viewer to explore and interpret; this seems antithetical to the idea of montage attractions designed to have an immediate effect on the viewer.

Demuts'kyi's experience as a photographer also influenced his lighting of the still-life shots at the end of *Zemlia*. The shot of fruit on the ground in the rain (E: 950) is more strongly lit in the background than in the foreground. As a result, the abundant fruit is highlighted and the rain falling on it has a three-dimensional quality. The scene, although artificially lit, conveys the impression of a brief summer shower through which the sun shines.

Another technique used in creating the illusion of three-dimensional space and absent from painting and photography is movement toward or away from the camera. The technique has been widely used from the inception of cinema.[32] Within Dovzhenko's trilogy, *Zvenyhora* uses the device most often. The reason for this does not seem to be purely aesthetic but rather the result of Zavelev's personal preferences. Trained in the early days of Russian cinema, Zavelev was most likely fascinated, as were most early cinematographers, by objects moving towards the camera. This device is employed less frequently in the films shot by Demuts'kyi, who preferred movement along diagonal lines.

An important stylistic indicator is the camera's distance from the photographed object. Depending on the focal length of the lens, camera distance is usually described in relation to a human figure within the frame. The typology of shots, however, is not precisely standardized and varies among authors dealing with the issue.[33] In order to simplify this discussion, I classify all shots into three categories: the Long Shot (an object is seen in its entirety and occupies only a small portion of the screen area; its surroundings are also seen), the Medium Shot (a fragment of an object is seen as well as some of its surroundings, or a whole object is seen and very little of its surroundings are seen), and the Close-up (a fragment of an object fills most of the frame).[34] The drawback of this typology is that the majority of shots fall into the Medium Shot category and is thus less descriptive than the typologies employed by other scholars. Nevertheless this typology is sufficient for identifying just how many of Dovzhenko's shots may be classed amongst the more extreme forms, i. e., the Long Shot and the Close-up.

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[32] For example, one of the first films ever made, *L'arrivé d'un train en gare* (Lumières, 1895) was meant to portray a train moving in the audience's direction. On the perception of depth in film based on the Lumières' example see Iurii Tsiv'ian, *Istoricheskaia retseptsiia kino: Kinematograf v Rossii 1896-1930* (Riga: Zinatne, 1991), 165-77.

The scale of shots distribution is an important stylistic indicator. It shows what types of shots are given preference in a film, and more importantly, when dealing with a number of films, may reveal stylistic consistency in films by the same director. A director's choice in this respect can fairly accurately describe the "look" of a film: whether it has the expansive look of a theatrical stage or whether it presents an intimate, and sometimes more puzzling look at objects fragmented by close-ups. As the table below[35] indicates, *Arsenal* is the most stylistically challenging film since it consists of an unusually high number of close-ups (50%). At the same time, the number of long shots in *Arsenal* is kept at a low 12.4 per cent.

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[33] See, for example, Bordwell, *Ozu and the Poetics of Cinema* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 2; Salt, 171.

[34] This typology of shots is used in Appendices I-III at the end of this work.

Table 1. Scale of Shot Distribution

	Zvenyhora	*Arsenal*	*Zemlia*
Long Shots (%)	22.4	12.4	11.4
Medium Shots (%)	63.8	37.6	63.1
Close-ups (%)	13.8	50.0	25.5

In *Zvenyhora* long and medium shots predominate and there is a relatively low number of close-ups (13.8%). This is not surprising inasmuch as it was shot by a pre-revolutionary cinematographer. With a new generation of collaborators in *Arsenal*, the films take on a new look. The shots are much tighter; the film seems to thrive on detail. *Zemlia* seems to establish a compromise between the styles of the first two films. It avoids the long shots (11.4%) and employs close-ups in moderation (25.5%). In *Zemlia* there is a balance between the traditionalism of *Zvenyhora* and the avant-garde feel of

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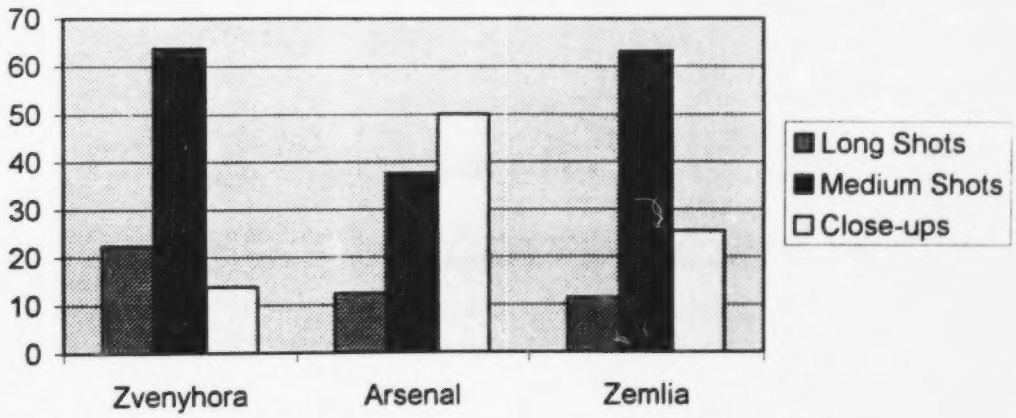
[35] Calculations are based on the total number of shots in the films excluding intertitles. In this respect they are more accurate than similar calculations done by Salt, which were based on a sample of 500 shots. See Salt, chap. 10, 171-77.

Arsenal.

We cannot, therefore speak of the development or progression of Dovzhenko's style based on this trilogy. As the graph below indicates, each film in the trilogy had its own style and was not a derivative of the style of the previous film. Thus, if we were to look at *Arsenal* as a stylistic departure from *Zvenyhora*, *Zemlia* would need to be viewed as stylistic return, a form of "regression." Incidently, *Zemlia* was perceived as such by an American critic who stated that, "[j]udged by the Hollywood standards *Soil* [*Zemlia*] is a great picture. Judged by the standards of *The Last Laugh*, *Potemkin*, and *Arsenal* it is a cinematic aberration and a step backward."[36]

Figure 1. Scale of Shot Distribution



But film style is not only a matter of shot distribution. Given the critical success of *Arsenal*, Dovzhenko could have continued in the same vein. But would it have been appropriate for a film like *Zemlia*? It is unlikely. The different subject matter and the different setting required a different style. Dovzhenko's choice was dictated by these factors as well. Can the stylistic conservatism of *Zemlia* be considered a political compromise intended to appease proletarian critics? History shows that even if the film was intended as such, it missed its target. Criticism of the film was focused least of all on style.[37]

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[36] Alexander Bakshy, "Soil," *The Nation* 29 October 1930.

Camera movement became an important stylistic tool during the final years of silent cinema. Cameras had become lighter and more portable and camera mounting mechanisms allowed for fluid panning and tilting of the camera. Dovzhenko's films, however, do not explore a wide range of such possibilities but are limited to the mastering of the tracking camera, or dolly. Panning and tilting are so sporadic that they can be considered reframing devices rather than intentional camera movements.[38] Tracking shots in *Zvenyhora* are limited to dolly-forward and dolly-backward shots where the camera either follows or precedes the photographed object. In later films Dovzhenko extends the range of tracking shots to more elaborate shots for which the camera moves along with the photographed object and matches its speed. The most obvious examples come from *Arsenal* where tracking camera shots are used to build up the tempo of dynamic sequences. For example, the camera moves along with a speeding train and the action taking place on its car platforms is seen against the rapidly changing background of the landscape (A: 175-253). A similar effect is achieved with the camera tracking alongside galloping horses pulling a cart on which there is a dead soldier (A: 761-828). The increasing speed of the horses dictates the increasing tempo of the sequence. The hooves of the horses striking rhythmically against the frozen ground give the movement a regular beat.

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[37] On the reception of *Zemlia* see the end of Chapter I.

[38] Hollywood cinema, with its centre oriented frame composition, ran into the problem of keeping a moving figure in the centre of the frame. *Reframing*, a slight pan or tilt of the camera, was a standard practice during the 1920s. See Bordwell, Steiger and Thompson, 51.

In *Zemlia* tracking shots achieve similar effects. They are used mainly in sequences where variations in tempo and rhythm reflect emotional turns of the story. The montage sequence showing the cycle of agricultural production, intended to portray the joy of collective farming, employs fast tracking shots in order to increase the tempo of the entire sequence. In this manner, shots of a plough turning the soil (E: 413-418) and shots of Vasyl driving a tractor (E: 419) present monotonous and repetitious actions in dynamic fashion. The steady rhythm of the objects at work is seen against a moving background. The result is perceived by the viewer as the dynamism of the subject: the dynamism of labour.

A different intent seems to guide the use of tracking in the funeral sequence. Here the tracking camera reflects the solemn character of the funeral procession. The tempo set by the tracking shots of Vasyl's body carried aloft (E: 803) is retained throughout the sequence. Thus the camera tracks at the same speed at which the mourners walk.

The compositional significance of tracking shots in Dovzhenko's films has to be seen integrally, that is, in relation to other movements within the frame and in relation to imaginary movements and rhythms created through montage. It will be discussed at greater length in Chapter IV.

The height of the camera, or its angle of vision, is often ascribed ideological meaning in film studies. While consistent use of the same angles by some directors may invite such interpretation, there are no universal rules governing the use of this device. It would be a great exaggeration, as was suggested by his critics, to state that camera angles in Dovzhenko's films are intended to characterize along class lines. Consider low angle shots in *Zemlia*. Individual and group portraits of villagers form the sequence of the tractor's arrival in the village. Most of the portraits are taken with the camera pointing upwards. Thus, the characters' upper bodies (or simply their heads) are seen against the clear sky. Poor farmers (E: 252) as well as rich farmers (E: 217, 246) are shot in this fashion. It has been argued, that such low angle shots make objects look imposing and for this reason are reserved for the portrayal of the rich and the powerful. Interpreting *Zemlia* according to this simplistic rule would thus be misleading.[39] Would this ideological criticism be valid for the portrayal of oxen and horses (E: 216, 229) shot in the same way?

Camera angle preference, therefore, cannot be seen as an expression of ideological concerns but must be viewed as an aesthetic choice. Demuts'kyi's predilection for portraits, with the sky as their background, reflects his careful approach to frame composition through which he strives to capture the essence of the subject instead of characterizing the subject through its surroundings.

The poetic quality attributed to images in Dovzhenko's films can be seen in large part a result of the director's collaboration with cameraman Danylo Demuts'kyi on *Arsenal* and *Zemlia*. Although Demuts'kyi cannot be credited with inventing a new camera style, his mastery of certain techniques and their appropriateness for the films' subjects deserve recognition. Influenced by the tradition of Impressionist painting, Demuts'kyi's portraits and landscapes were enhanced by lens diffusion and softened lighting.

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[39] Incidentally, the major criticism of *Zemlia* shortly after its release (see Chapter I) was that the opposing classes of the Ukrainian village were not defined clearly enough to effectively portray the struggle.

2b. Special Effects

Special effects in film can be divided into three categories depending on their origin: 1) those originating within or by modifying the camera itself; 2) those achieved through special processing of the film stock in the laboratory; and 3) those involving manipulation of shot content, for example, the use of miniature sets or animation. Today, special effects are usually associated with the manipulation of content. Spectacular explosions, computer animation and, more recently, picture digitization account for large portions of film budgets.[40]

By today's standards, the special effects of the silent film were rather simple and some would not even be considered special effects. Most common among them were fades, dissolves and matte-shots that covered parts of the screen or created shapes suggesting, for example, the look of a keyhole or binoculars. Manipulation of the iris was also used as a special effect in the early days to bring attention to an element on the screen or to end a shot. But in the period when Dovzhenko worked, this had already been replaced by close-ups and fades. Fades and dissolves were originally done in-camera by closing and opening its diaphragm. Subsequently, these effects were produced in the film processing laboratory. The fact that any shot could begin or end with a dissolve or a fade gave directors greater freedom. In Dovzhenko's time, however, fades and dissolves had to be planned ahead of time and were executed by cameramen during shooting.

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[40] See, for example, John Culhane, *Special Effects in the Movies: How They Do It* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1981) or John Brosnan, *The Story of Special Effects in the Cinema* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974).

Two processes for producing special effects were used in the West during the silent era. The Shüfftan process involved a combination of mirror shots with rear projection and the travelling-matte process combined enlarged pictures or model sets with partially built sets in which actors performed.[41] Both processes were quite complex and required ingenuity and patience in preparing models and detailed camera setups. They minimized the need for building life-size sets and, thus, saved money in the long run. The Ukrainian film industry of the late 1920s was, however, very reluctant to learn these processes.[42]

Special effects in the trilogy are limited to *Zvenyhora*. Fades and dissolves are present in the other two films, but by the late 1920s they had lost their novelty and were considered standard devices to mark the passage of time. As "a catalogue of creative possibilities" for Dovzhenko, *Zvenyhora* uses overlapping multiple images. Special effects in *Zvenyhora* are used in particular in two extended sequences devoted to Ukrainian history. This use of special effects might be viewed as a metaphor for Dovzhenko's relationship to the Ukrainian past: ill defined, fantastic and influencing the present.

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[41] For a detailed description of the Shüfftan process (which was used, for example, in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* [1926]) and the travelling-matte process see chap. 1 of John Brosnan, *Movie Magic: The Story of Special Effects in the Cinema* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974).

[42] Skrypnyk complained in 1928 that the processes were not used by Ukrainian cinematographers, who relied on expensive sets. See Skrypnyk, 62-63.

The Roksana legend (Z: 462-549) is the most striking example of special effects in the film. In addition to highly stylized, theatrical acting and set design, many images in the sequence overlap and thus prevent the viewer from clearly seeing what is happening on the screen at any given time. It is often difficult to tell how many images are exposed at the same time. Most of the images involve movement and a large number of actors whose features can hardly be discerned. In such situations one image is usually shot in focus and the additional images are out of focus or shot through softening filters. As a result people, warriors, horses, and armour blend together. The strategy is not an unsuccessful technical experiment and serves several purposes. The blurring of facts suggests that the story told by the grandfather is incoherent and that the grandfather is not a reliable narrator. The strategy serves to question the concept of history as definitely expressed truths. In history different opinions, hypotheses, facts and myths overlap; it is their combination which renders a "final" product. Dovzhenko's sequence is a representation of history as something confusing and unspecific. History, like the grandfather's story, gives an overall sense of events, people and directions. This was the meaning that history held for Ukrainian intellectuals of the 1920s. It was not a clearly defined entity, but rather a source of national pride and a repository of tradition.

The idea that historical interpretation is an entity with mutable boundaries did not align itself with Marxist doctrine which saw history as an illustration of the clearly defined class struggle that led to the October revolution. Ukrainians saw in the revolution the potential for both social and, especially, national revival. The flourishing of research into Ukrainian history, ethnography and culture under the auspices of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN - Vseukrains'ka Akademiia Nauk), which later was defiled as a bourgeois nationalist institution, demonstrates that the search for national roots and the reconstitution of historical memory ranked very high on the intellectuals' agenda. Dovzhenko's relationship with history is an artistic reflection of his contemporaries' concerns. Many of the questions raised in his time were far from being resolved; thus he portrayed them as a multiplicity of confusing but genuine images.

Roksana's legend belongs to the distant past; consequently the director treated it with intentional haziness. Cossack history of 16th and 17th centuries was well documented and had a strong presence in cultural traditions. Most Ukrainians of the revolutionary generation viewed the Cossacks with a sense of pride as guardians of Ukrainian statehood. nonetheless their image was ambiguous for many leftist intellectuals including Dovzhenko. They saw the Cossack period as one of national immaturity and as the source of the Romantic and ethnographic "Little Russian orientation" in the arts. Thus, it is not surprising that Dovzhenko presents the Cossacks in a humorous dream sequence that utilized special effects.

Slow motion at the beginning of the sequence informs the viewer of its unreality. Aligned with intertitles, this beginning sets an unusual rhythm and mood for the images that follow. Throughout the sequence special effects emphasize the presence of the supernatural in the dream. When the grandfather and the Otaman find a golden chalice (Z: 56), it turns into a piece of broken glass. Another glittering object disappears when the two men want to touch it (Z: 58). These carefully planned and staged dissolves utilize the cinema's capacity to create "miracles." By suggesting that the treasures the men are seeking are not real, the sequence is comical.

Matte-shots of an evil monk protecting the "treasures" also convey the surreal. After a number of close-ups showing fear on the Cossacks' faces, a long shot of the Cossacks running is combined with a close-up of the monk's face (Z: 106). As the monk's image dissolves, his full figure chasing the Cossacks appears in the long shot. The monk's face reappears for a moment (Z: 176) superimposed by the figure of the sleeping grandfather. This reveals that the Cossack story was merely the grandfather's dream and the monk a nightmare in it.

The Cossack heritage at the beginning of *Zvenyhora* reverberates at the film's end. When Pavlo is introduced walking the streets of Prague[43] the intertitle alludes to the Cossack image with which the nationalists associated themselves: "Meanwhile the refugee Cossack walks in Prague, sweeping the streets with [his] baggy trousers" (Z: 765-767). Dovzhenko ridicules not so much the nationalist ideas with which he himself associated but the vision of Ukraine that some nationalist groups propagated: the reemergence of Cossack glory and the naive belief in the old treasures which would ensure a future for the country. For Dovzhenko this vision belonged to the realm of dreams rendered by special effects.

Dovzhenko treats in a similar vein another traditional symbol: the Romantic poet Taras Shevchenko. In *Arsenal* Shevchenko's portrait is carried in parades and demonstrations as a symbol of Ukraine's free spirit and tradition. In a nationalist household Shevchenko's portrait is treated as a religious icon. An old man lights a candle in front of it, but the Shevchenko of the portrait does not like it: the portrait comes to life and Shevchenko blows out the candle (A: 393-396). Once again a cinematic trick (rather than a special effect) is used to convey the unreal expectations of the nationalist camp and its symbols. Dovzhenko, however, is very careful to distinguish between symbols and the historical legacy. He does not reject the ideas of Shevchenko (which very likely shaped his own worldview) but harnessing of Shevchenko as a symbol for various nationalist fractions.[44] Dovzhenko was not alone in satirizing the cult around Shevchenko. Poets and writers of the avant-garde had been doing this throughout the 1920s.[45] The humorous wink made by Shevchenko's portrait best illustrates the director's intentions.

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[43] Prague was the centre of political and cultural activities of Ukrainian emigres during the interwar period.

In sum, Dovzhenko's use of special effects is functionally limited to the "defamiliarization" of Ukrainian history. Besides the obvious compositional motivation for their inclusion, their use also holds intertextual implications. As cinematic devices they must be seen in context. They make allusions to cultural phenomena and are designed to elicit a specific response from the audience: they force the viewers to examine their view of Ukrainian history.

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[44] A recent semiotic study on the Shevchenko phenomenon in Ukrainian culture was completed by Anna Makolkin, *Name, Hero, Icon: Semiotics of Nationalism through Heroic Biography* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992).

[45] See, for example, Mykhail' Semenko, *Kobzar: Povnyi zbirnyk poetychnykh tvoriv v odnomu tomi, 1910-1922* (Kharkiv: DVU, 1925).

3. Content as a Compositional Element

This broad category includes all objects that the director chooses to place within the film's frame. The most obvious in narrative films are actors, but animals and all inanimate objects are also included. While actors and acting receive most attention from audiences and critics alike, other objects in the frame also have expressive functions. An animated film which relies on drawings of objects could be as absorbing as a film using images of real objects.

3a. Images of People

The issue of film acting and its role within film is a complex matter which can be approached from many theoretical perspectives.[46] Many acting styles have been borrowed from theatre and their suitability for film has been scrutinized repeatedly. Common in film criticism is the view of acting as a reflection of some preconceived idea of human behaviour. What one generation of critics hails as "realistic" the next generation finds unrealistic, stylized and often unacceptable.[47] The futility of judging acting according to the concept of "realism" can be clearly seen when applied to silent films. Do we find the performances of Chaplin, Keaton or Jennings "realistic"? Probably not, but this does not mean that the acting is bad. No universal approach does justice to the relativity of film acting, which should be analyzed on a case to case basis. As Bordwell and Thompson suggest: "[i]f the actor looks and behaves in a manner *appropriate* to his or her character's *function* in the context of the film, the actor has given a good performance—*whether or not* he or she has behaved as a real person might in such circumstances."[48] Within the context of the historical poetics of Dovzhenko's films I will look at acting in terms of its appropriateness to the films' contexts and with reference to what Dovzhenko's contemporaries viewed as the appropriate role for actors in cinema.

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[46] For a recent example see, Carole Zucker, ed., *Making Visible the Invisible: An Anthology of Original Essays on Film Acting* (London and Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1990).

Leonid Skrypnyk views actors as objects which are part of the cinematic image. An actor is material for motion picture photography and his photographic image constitutes the material for films. Thus, for a film, while the actor is not important, his or her image is. This seemingly obvious conclusion was prompted by Skrypnyk's view that unjustified attention and expense were reserved for actors rather than for their images.

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[47] David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson, *Film Art: An Introduction*, 3d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), 138.

[48] Bordwell and Thompson, 138.

In world cinematography Skrypnyk identifies three orientations[49] of which, according to the critic, only the so-called Eisenstein/Pudovkin orientation pays adequate attention to the cinematic image.[50] Skrypnyk wrote:

> A human being, a building, a car, a cow, a field, a leg of ham, a table—all of them can be and are film actors. In order to be a film actor, material appearance [and] suitability for photography are needed.[51]

In Skrypnyk's opinion, actors should be judged according to their *photogeneity*,[52] that is, based on the artistic value of their photographic images rather than on their appearance in real life.

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[49] See Skrypnyk, 17-18. The two remaining orientations are the "star" orientation of American cinema, relying on the personal attraction of actors and the "psychological" orientation of German and Russian cinema in which the actor-conveyed emotions make a film.

[50] For Skrypnyk, Pudovkin was the first to treat an actor as photographic material although Pudovkin's films do not always reflect it in practice. Skrypnyk, 37. Furthermore, Skrypnyk does not see a discrepancy between Eisenstein's and Pudovkin's film styles (as can be discerned from Eisenstein's later writings). Skrypnyk praises the innovative styles of both directors and favours Eisenstein but does not see him as a polar opposite to Pudovkin.

[51] Skrypnyk, 37.

[52] I translate Skrypnyk's term "fotohenichnist'" by this neologism in the absence of a noun in English to describe the state of being photogenic. To avoid further confusion, I refrain from using the French term *photogénie* employed in French Impressionist criticism. Skrypnyk uses the term in its primary meaning as 'the capacity to act as an attractive subject for photography' or 'having features which look good in a photograph.' The French, as Bordwell explains, used the

Such an approach to acting gives Skrypnyk an advantage over his Russian colleagues in that he avoids some rather futile debates over what is better for cinema, an actor or "naturshchik" (a non-professional playing a part), and whether actors should be trained according to the methods developed by Stanislavsky or by Meyerhold. Since it is not the actor-person who counts but the actor-image (to use Skrypnyk's terminology), any actor who can produce the required photogenic image may perform well and satisfy his or her character's function in the film.

In order to better understand Dovzhenko's relationship with actors and his expectations of them I propose to look at some of his actors and how they contributed to the images in his films. A closer look at the biographies of some of the actors reveals that they worked with the Berezil' Theatre and were trained by its director Les' Kurbas.[53] Semén Svashenko,[54]

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term *photogénie* to describe "the power of cinema to transform physical reality through mechanical and technical processes. Once transformed, reality can reveal its essence." David Bordwell, "The Musical Analogy," *Yale French Studies* 60 (1980), 144. See also Paul Willemen, "Photogenie and Epstein," in his Looks and *Frictions: Essays in Cultural Studies and Film Theory* (London: BFI, 1994), 124-33.

[53] Les' Kurbas (1887-1937) theatre director, actor and theoretician from Western Ukraine. Educated in Vienna he worked with several theatrical groups in Western Ukraine. After the revolution he organized Molodyi Teatr in Kyiv (1917-19) and later Berezil' (1922-33). The Berezil' Association,

who played leading roles in all the films of Dovzhenko's trilogy came to cinema from Kurbas' workshop. Petro Masokha,[55] who played Khoma in *Zemlia* and the title role in *Ivan* (1932) was trained in Berezil'. Les' Podorozhnii,[56] who played Pavlo in *Zvenyhora,* was a Berezil' actor. Amvrosii Buchma,[57] who

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with over 300 actors and staff, had six actors' studios, a directors' lab, a design studio and a theatre museum. It was a focal point in the development of Ukrainian theatre. Accused of Ukrainian nationalism Kurbas was arrested in 1933 and executed in 1937. See Iu. Boboshko, *Rezhyser Les' Kurbas* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1987); some of Kurbas' writings have been reissued Les' Kurbas, *Berezil': Iz tvorchoi spadshchyny* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1988).

[54] Semén Svashenko (1904-69) stage and film actor. He worked at the Berezil' Theatre from 1922 to 1928. Best known for his roles in Dovzhenko's films he moved to Moscow during the 1930s and worked at film studios there. He played in *Ballada o soldate* (1959, dir. G. Chukhrai) and *Voina i mir* (1966-67, dir. S. Bondarchuk).

[55] Petro Masokha (1904-91) stage and film actor. From 1923 to 1928 he worked in the Berezil' Theatre and thereafter in film. He is best known for his roles in Dovzhenko's films. After the war he published several articles about his work with Dovzhenko and Kurbas.

[56] Oleksander Podorozhnii (?-?) Little is known about him. Iosyp Hirniak, a leading Berezil' actor, mentions him in his memoirs. According to him, Podorozhnii worked for Berezil' and for VUFKU during the 1920s, was arrested in 1930 and sent to Siberia. He returned to Kyiv in the late 1930s. Iosyp Hirniak, *Spomyny* ed. Bohdan Boychuk (New York: Sučasnist, 1982), 329, 458.

[57] Amvrosii Buchma (1891-1957) prominent stage actor and director born in Western Ukraine, devoted exclusively to cinema from 1926 to 1930. He played title roles in VUFKU's *Jimmy Higgins* (1928, dir. H. Tasin), *Mykola Dzheria* (1927, dir. M. Tereshchenko), *Taras Shevchenko* (1926, dir. P. Chardynin) and *Taras Triasylo* (1927, dir. P. Chardynin) as well as the leading role in *Nichnyi viznyk* (1929, dir. H. Tasin). See Kost' Burevii, *A. Buchma: Monohrafiia* (Kharkiv: Rukh, 1933) and Oleh Babyshkin, *Amvrosii Buchma v kino* (Kyiv:

played a gassed German soldier in *Arsenal*, was somewhat older than his colleagues and was retrained at Berezil' before acting in his first film in 1926. These actors brought to Ukrainian cinema a new way of thinking about acting and about the actor's role in theatre. In Dovzhenko's films they worked along with traditionally trained theatre actors, Mykola Nadems'kyi[58] and Polina Otava,[59] as well as amateurs like Stepan Shkurat.[60]

Kurbas' vision of acting in theatre coincided with Skrypnyk's idea of the actor-image in cinema and was well suited to Dovzhenko's concept of film acting. Influenced by German Expressionist theatre, Berezil' aimed at reducing the dominating role of speech and realist acting in order to "synthesize speech, movement and gesture, music, light and

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Mystetstvo, 1966).

[58] Mykola Nadems'kyi (1892-1937) film and theatre actor. Worked in Kharkiv and Odessa theatres before coming to cinema in 1926. He is best known for his portrayal of the grandfathers in *Zvenyhora* and *Zemlia*. Arrested in 1935 Nadems'kyi was executed by NKVD.

[59] Polina Otava (1899-1937?) stage and film actress. She appeared with the Kurbas' Molodyi Teatr and later with the Kyiv Ukrainian Drama Theatre. A victim of the Stalinist terror she disappeared in 1937.

[60] Stepan Shkurat (1886-1973) stage and film actor and singer. He began his career in an amateur troupe before was discovered by Ivan Kavaleridze and acted in his film *Zlyva* (1929). Shkurat played leading roles in all Dovzhenko's films throughout the 1930s. His strong voice and singing abilities allowed him to land roles in many musicals as well as in the classic film of socialist realism, *Chapaev* (Aleksandrov brothers, 1935).

decorative art into one rhythm or a single dramatic language based on the belief that the theater shapes rather than reflects life."[61] Berezil' theatre had several workshops which trained actors in the system developed by Kurbas. Actors went through rigorous physical and intellectual training. Beside classes in "acrobatics, plastics, rhythmics, ballet, juggling and voice" new actors were supposed to become "thinking artists." They were required to attend artistic events and read widely on the arts. In order to become creators, Berezil' actors were taught how to "physically and psychologically motivate each motion and to understand the rhythmic structure of each movement and image."[62] The term "image" ("obraz" in Ukrainian) seems to have paramount importance in Kurbas' theatrical lexicon. As Virlana Tkacz points out:

> The actors, however, were not just to imitate life, but had to learn to construct an image. Kurbas taught them that the actor should use gestures, movements and voice to create an image which has specific form and structure. He must be able to exactly repeat his choices and allow the image to exist as a separate artistic work, not dependent merely on his moods. The goal of this image was not to copy the details of life, but to express, through the devices of theatre, an idea about life.[63]

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[61] V. Revutsky, "Berezil," *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 207-8.

[62] Virlana Tkacz, "Les Kurbas and the Actors of the Berezil Artistic Association in Kiev," *Theatre History Studies* 8 (1988), 140.

[63] Tkacz, 139-40.

The Berezil' actors brought this ability to create "images" to Dovzhenko's films and Dovzhenko was able to use these images masterfully.

Several of these actor-created images are regularly reproduced as stills and are often discussed by critics. The careers of various actors are often represented by the images they created in Dovzhenko's films. The most frequently reproduced are two stills from *Arsenal*. The image of Tymish with his torn shirt, baring his chest and urging the enemy to shoot (A: 1011, 1013) is cited as the classic image of the socialist hero in Soviet cinema. Svashenko's role in *Arsenal* is subordinated or toned down throughout the film in order to contrast with this powerful image. Svashenko's acting in the film is a series of images varying in expressive power, the pinnacle of which is this image of the bare-chested worker. Svashenko avoids giving a psychological portrayal of his character. He is neither *a type* portraying a worker, nor is he a soldier. There is nothing typical in his appearance. On the contrary, Tymish stands out in a crowd as a handsome young man.

Tymish's character is played to stand out in a crowd. Dovzhenko uses Svashenko's photogenic qualities to make him the leading character in *Arsenal*. Besides placing him in the centre of the frame, Dovzhenko draws attention to Tymish by juxtaposing his static figure with a dynamic background or by placing a static shot of him after a rapid montage sequence (A: 266-268). For example, Tymish is seen standing in the street with people moving rapidly in front of and behind him (A: 386-387). Beside obvious attempts at characterization, Tymish's story is told in purely graphic terms. The Ukrainian revolutionary forces move rapidly to the right and to the left while an undecided and somewhat lost Tymish stands, calm and immobile. The image is enhanced in the narrative when he is asked to join one of the forces and he responds angrily (A: 389-392).

On another occasion Tymish's static image is contrasted with a rapid montage sequence. When a train driven by the communists crashes, Tymish emerges from the rubble of twisted metal and stands still before saying "I'll learn to run these things yet!" (A: 267). Preceded by the fast paced, dynamic sequence of panic stricken faces, the chaotic movement of train parts and the last breath of an accordion, Tymish's motionless figure seen against the smoking rubble restores peace and tranquillity. Tymish's image thus changes the film's rhythm. It would be difficult to describe Svashenko's dramatic role here since he moves so little. These shots can be seen as actor-created images that the director utilizes in the film.

By far the most powerful image in *Arsenal* was created by Amvrosii Buchma who appears in a very brief episodic series of shots in which he portrays an anonymous German soldier. The soldier is not part of the story but is an image that is supposed to remain etched in the viewer's memory. Although Buchma appears in only six shots (A: 78, 81, 83, 85, 88, 109) his role in *Arsenal* is often listed as one of his greatest achievements. This choice is surprising because Buchma had to his credit many leading film and theatre roles.[64] On the other hand, the image he created in *Arsenal* produced a strong impression upon many people. How does creating a screen image differ from traditional film acting? What is memorable about Buchma as a gassed German soldier, an image rendered in six shots?

The scene involving the gassed soldier is simple. An anonymous soldier, recognizable as a German because of his helmet, removes his gas mask and starts laughing. The title says, "These gases--some of them make the heart [light]!" The soldier keeps laughing until his helmet falls off his bald head. His expression becomes serious for a moment but is followed by a sudden outburst of laughter. All six shots depicting the soldier are close-ups. In these close-ups Dovzhenko utilizes the characteristic that Skrypnyk terms *photogeneity*.[65]

> The actor is judged, above all, according to his *photogeneity*. By photogenic we mean an object whose photographic image has higher artistic value,

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[64] See note 58.

[65] See note 53.

> expressiveness and influence than its direct appearance.[66]

He distinguishes between two types of *photogeneity*: "static photogeneity" and the "photogeneity of acting." The former can be applied both to photography and cinema while the latter, which involves movement, refers exclusively to cinema.

Buchma seems to satisfy both requirements for photogeneity. Certain elements of his appearance are stressed with the use of make-up; his dirty face is unshaven; his front teeth are missing and he is bald. The combination of these features contributes to the image of a worn out, tired soldier who has spent a considerable amount of time in the trenches. Then, there are features which suggest that a soldier's life is not all that this character has known. Wire-framed glasses and the trace of an elegant moustache suggest to the viewer that, like so many, this soldier was an intellectual caught in the war. Such features made Buchma an appropriate object for photography.

Skrypnyk, however, does not suggest that photogenic qualities are intrinsic to certain objects or people.[67] He simply states that an object may be turned into an attractive object for photography. With the "photogeneity of acting" for example, a non-expressive object may acquire photogenic qualities. In Buchma's case, his acting adds to the expressive power of the image in two ways. First of all, it gradually reveals his static photogenic qualities. The soldier's missing front teeth become apparent when he starts laughing and his bald head only comes into view when his helmet falls back. Secondly, it creates an image with movement. Buchma's laughter, including his body movements, produces the image of mad laughter. It is not the image of a person laughing but the purified image of an emotion. Trained by Kurbas in the Expressionist manner, the actor had learned the importance of creating an image. Buchma's image of mad laughter can be compared to the classic Expressionist painting, "The Scream" (1893), by Edvard Munch. In both, the emotions form the topic and the content of the image. It would be erroneous to title Munch's painting "A person screaming" because the person is of no importance to the idea. Similarly, the image of the German soldier is superseded by the image of mad laughter. In Dovzhenko's film this serves to convey the psychological destruction brought on human beings by war.

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[66] Skrypnyk, 37-38.

[67] For example, Vladimir Nilsen writes that the theory of photogenics [photogénie] implies the "peculiar ability of certain objects to create effective, impressive shots, owing to qualities intrinsic in their form or surface." He is quick, however, to add that "photogenics is simply one of the manifestations of bourgeois formalism and worship of things for their own sake." Vladimir Nilsen, *The Cinema as a Graphic Art*, trans. Stephen Garry, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1959),

To claim that the entire effect of this scene on the

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174. Originally published as *Izobrazitel'noe postroenie fil'ma* (Moscow, 1936).

viewer results from Buchma's image creating abilities would be naive. Equally important is the intercutting of these images with others showing parts of a dead soldier's body partially buried in sand (A: 86-87) and a parallel sequence of a silhouetted soldier and an officer (A: 95-111). This aspect will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV, the main focus of which is montage.

The image creating abilities of the actors trained in Kurbas' theatre had been influenced by Expressionist aesthetics but had little in common with Expressionist acting. The theory of the latter claimed that "broad and slow gestures give the audience time to think about emotions being felt by the characters in the play, and also amplified those emotions as they were communicated."[68] Thus, the classics of German Expressionist film which employ this kind of acting can be excluded as possible influences on Dovzhenko's actors and on the acting in his films.

The importance of an actor as an image is stressed especially in *Arsenal*, the most experimental of Dovzhenko's films. In addition to limiting the significance of all the characters besides Tymish, Dovzhenko sometimes simply settles for silhouetted or masked images of people. For example, a scene in which a soldier refuses to kill and is executed by an officer is played in silhouettes (A: 95-111) and is thus reminiscent of oriental shadow puppet theatre.[69] We do not see the faces nor any other elements of characterization except for those that make the two characters recognizable as an officer and a soldier. These are built on contrasts between elements of their uniforms: the soldier's helmet and the officer's cap; and the soldier's rifle and the officer's handgun. This scene eloquently shows that Dovzhenko's actors were to create pure images which viewers would unmistakeably recognize as nothing more than a soldier and an officer.

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[68] Salt, 198.

On another occasion, Dovzhenko purposefully avoids showing the face or any other particular feature of a character who has quite a significant function in creating the film's pacifist message. Since the character is recognizable only by the line of dialogue he speaks, it will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III on intertitles. For now, it is important to note that Dovzhenko was faced with the dilemma of presenting a universal human moral issue: does a revolution justify killing? If the line "Is it all right to kill officers and bourgeois in the streets if I find any?" were spoken by an identifiable character it would define that character only. In *Arsenal* the line is spoken twice by a character (A: 416, 701) and read once by a nurse (A: 715) as part of a letter from the former. In the first two instances the viewer cannot be sure that it is the same character speaking. The first time the character is part of an audience filmed in a long shot. The viewer sees someone at the back of the hall stand up and ask the question (A: 408, 410, 412, 415) which appears as a dialogue title on the screen. The second time the viewer sees a close-up of the bandaged head of a wounded soldier (A: 700, 702, 706, 708, 710). None of his features are recognizable and no link is made with the previous scene except for the line of dialogue. By forcing the viewer to wonder whether the question was posed by the same person, Dovzhenko gives the question a universal quality. The question poses by an abstracted human being reflects the thinking of many.

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[69] Silhouettes had been used in cinema since 1913. See Salt, 93.

Clarification is required when one speaks about the actors in Dovzhenko's films. Critics and biographers often claim that Dovzhenko used non-actors in his films. This is simply incorrect. Dovzhenko was very careful in casting. All major roles were played by professional actors. There were, of course, extras who were carefully chosen by the director but the films did not depend on them. The explanation for this myth, created by critics, can be found in Ukrainian cultural history. During the 1930s, all those associated with Les' Kurbas fell into disfavour. Some lost their lives (Nadems'kyi, Otava), some temporarily left acting (Svashenko, Masokha) until the thaw of the 1960s. The only major actor that continued to work during the 1930s and 40s was Shkurat, who was an experienced amateur actor before coming to cinema and who had nothing to do with the Berezil' Theatre. Thus, critics and biographers, who were not allowed to mention the Berezil' tradition for many years decided to treat prominent actors appearing in Dovzhenko's films as non-actors. This was, moreover, the safest stance to take. During the 1930s, non-actors were considered real people, true proletarian types, acting as themselves.

There is a striking difference between casting in Dovzhenko's films and in the films of Eisenstein and Pudovkin. The Russian directors used the "typage" method and chose actors whose appearances unmistakably labelled them as "good guys" or "bad guys" in the viewers' minds. Capitalists and oppressors are in most cases fat, mean-looking, cigar-smoking men while workers are more pleasant in appearance.

Remnants of such typecasting are present in Dovzhenko's *Zvenyhora* but were abandoned in *Arsenal* and *Zemlia*. The two brothers, Tymish and Pavlo, contrast with each other. This, however, is not achieved so much by casting as through acting. Tymish is portrayed as a serious hard-working young man, while Pavlo appears somewhat childish, lazy, superstitious and naive. The casting of the General in *Zvenyhora* seems to be more in line with the "great revolutionary tradition." The General is fat, unpleasant and mean in his treatment of the soldiers and the grandfather. While this may serve as an example of "typage" casting, it is not. Dovzhenko used this role to show the possibilities of make-up and dress in film. The role of the General as well as the role of the grandfather in *Zvenyhora* were played by one and the same man, Mykola Nadems'kyi, a 36-year old actor.[70] Dovzhenko even includes some of Kuleshov's "creative geography"[71] by having these two contrasting characters, played by the same actor, appear in the same frame (Z: 298, 300, 302, 304).

Such simplified contrasts in characterization are absent from *Zemlia*. All the characters in the film are, generally speaking, pleasant in appearance. The difference, for example, between Khoma and Vasyl is not marked by appearance, dress or make-up. The actors playing both roles could have been switched without significantly altering the film. The class enemy, the village priest, is not depicted as evil in appearance. He is a somewhat lost and pitiful man, confused by revolutionary changes. Such casting in Dovzhenko's films stresses an important fact. Dovzhenko never saw conflicting forces as polar opposites. Whether these were the nationalists and the communists in *Zvenyhora* and *Arsenal*, or rich and poor farmers in *Zemlia*, Dovzhenko suggests that ideological categories are relative and that an individual, depending on circumstances, can belong to one side or another. Furthermore, one's appearance or membership in a group does not make one a bad or a good person. Dovzhenko's personal experiences during the Ukrainian revolution and during the 1920s may very well be the source for such views.

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[70] Nadems'kyi's portrayal of the grandfather was so convincing that he repeated his performance in *Zemlia* as grandfather Semén. The British journal *Close up* termed Nadems'kyi's make-up "remarkable." The journal also reproduced stills from the film alongside Nadems'kyi's real-life promotional photo. By mistake or as a promotional gimmick Nadems'kyi's age was given as twenty-four. *Close-up* 3.3 (1928), photographs between pages 48-49.

[71] Kuleshov claimed in the early 1920s that shots of distant locations could be used to create fictional space in cinema. Similarly, a fictional human being could be created by editing together shots representing various body parts belonging to several individuals. Pudovkin's short comedy *Chess fever* (1926) puts these concepts into practice. For a recent discussion of the "Kuleshov effect" see Norman N. Holland, "Film Response from Eye to I: The Kuleshov Experiment," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 88.2 (1989), 415-42; and Stephen Prince and Wayne E. Hensley, "The Kuleshov Effect: Recreating the Classic Experiment," *Cinema Journal* 31.2 (1992), 59-75.

Dovzhenko's framing of human figures departs from the classical Hollywood model (which was adopted from the tradition of classical Western painting). The frontality of the human figure is key to the classical Hollywood style. As Bordwell points out:

> The face is positioned in full, three-quarter, or profile view; the body typically in full or three-quarter view. The result is an odd rubbernecking characteristic of Hollywood character position; people's heads may face one another in profile but their bodies do not. Standing groups are arranged along horizontal or diagonal lines or in half-circles; people seldom close ranks as they would in real life.[72]

The characters in the silent trilogy are not bound by these requirements even though Dovzhenko does not purposely avoid classical frontality. Characters form circles so that their backs face the camera (E: 677), look directly at the camera (A: 712, 714), or have their backs to the camera for prolonged periods of time.

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[72] Bordwell, Steiger and Thompson, 51.

By placing characters with their backs to the camera Dovzhenko also removes an important cue for the viewer. "When characters have their backs to us, it is usually an index of their relative unimportance at the moment."[73] The only real conversation in the entire trilogy (analyzed in Chapter III), a dialogue between Vasyl and Opanas in *Zemlia*, is shown in alternating shots of the characters' backs. There are no other characters or objects to which the viewer's attention might turn. Both characters are equally important, in fact, crucial to the scene and no hierarchization occurs. In addition to spatial ambiguity[74] Dovzhenko seems interested in the graphic similarities of the composition. The men's backs suggest that despite their ideological differences (conveyed by dialogue titles) the men do not differ significantly.[75] This is yet another manner in which Dovzhenko avoids the overt contrasting of characters practised by the revolutionary directors. In this case the *ideology dividing the father* and the son is less vital than the many graphic similarities they share.

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[73] Bordwell, Steiger and Thompson, 52.

[74] See David Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 118.

[75] See Kepley, "Dovzhenko and Montage," 36.

3b. Images of Objects

The conviction that objects, like actors, could create powerful images in film was shared by theoreticians, filmmakers and critics of the time. Consider, for example, this review of *Zvenyhora*:

> [W]hen one speaks about the film's actors one has to speak not only about Nadems'kyi, who plays the grandfather, but also about the smoking rifle, about the bare feet of the Red Guard, about the bare back of the child and about the swinging of the scythe. Because there are no neutral, inactive elements in *Zvenyhora*.[76]

The importance given to objects in Soviet cinema of the 1920s was, as critics claimed, a reaction to Hollywood cinema, which was "star" driven. In order to avoid the "fetishism" of the star system characteristic of "bourgeois cinema," Soviet directors downplayed the role of the actor and sought other expressive means. By reducing the significance of leading actors and enhancing the importance of objects they attempted to balance these two elements.

This does not mean that classical Hollywood cinema did not use objects. Shots of objects, or "inserts" as they were called in the industry, were used mainly to recreate realistic settings for the actors or were used by the actors as props.[77] If special attention was paid to an object, it was motivated by the story: the object was important for the film's story (a murder weapon) or served as a leitmotif (cigarettes). Generally speaking, objects were peripheral and could not supersede a film's star. The Soviet avant-garde, on the other hand, perceived the expressive potential of objects as equal to that of actors and tried to use them accordingly. The films of Eisenstein, Vertov and, to a lesser extent Pudovkin[78], reflect this conviction.

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[76] Mykola Bazhan, "Tvortsi lehend i tvortsi istorii," *Zvenyhora: Zbirnyk* (Kyiv: VUFKU, 1928), 24, 26.

Stylistic changes experienced by the film industry constitute another important factor in the use of objects. The second half of the 1920s saw an increase in the use of objects in general. Even some Hollywood productions included as much as 10% "inserts" in a film. Some avant-garde European films, on the other hand, were entirely composed of "inserts", as for example, Fernand Léger's *Le Ballet mécanique* (1924). Barry Salt summarizes this preoccupation with objects in the last years of silent film as follows:

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[77] In film studies descriptions of framing are always made in relation to human figure represented in them. For example, *plan américain* indicates a shot framed from the knees up. In a similar vein shots with no people (or no faces) in them are called inserts (Salt, 389). An atmospheric insert, for example, would be a shot of a cloudy sky or a city skyline.

[78] While Pudovkin's writing acknowledges the importance of objects for film his works rarely confirm this conviction. They are centred on actors and acting. For example, his *Mother* (1926) relies very much on the performance of Vera Baranovskaia in the title role.

> When some critics around 1930 were writing about the "art of silent cinema" and lamenting its loss, it was basically the extensive use of Inserts and montage sequences that they were talking about. I find it difficult to be sorrowful about the matter, since it seems to me that by 1929 these usages were becoming an established style which was starting to be used unimaginatively and unthinkingly by lesser talents.[79]

Thus, it is not surprising to see attention paid to objects in Dovzhenko's silent films. Each film in the trilogy, to a lesser or greater extent, utilizes certain objects and these compete with the actors for the viewer's attention.

Objects as compositional elements are expected to play roles that often go beyond their semantic functions. On certain occasions they are used, not for what they really are but for a certain compositional effect, most often rhythmic. I classify the functions of objects in Dovzhenko's films as semantic (when the image of an object represents the object *per se*), or *substitutive* (when objects, in addition to their semantic function, are meant to replace something else as a more effective means in the narration process).[80] The third, equally important, rhythmic function will be analyzed as a separate compositional entity later in this chapter.

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[79] Salt, 219.

[80] I use the term *substitutive* mainly to avoid the notion of metaphor in film. My term encompasses what some scholars term metonymy and synecdoche in film. See, for example, Trevor Whittock, *Metaphor in Film* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 49-69. In general, the use of literary figures in discussing certain cinematic effects has been a controversial issue in film scholarship. The most commonly repeated argument against the practice is that "the photographic image in film is a literal representation of

Unlike the semantic function of words whose meaning may be different for different receivers, objects on screen are usually recognized in the same way by all viewers. While the word "horse" may be associated with a number of features that may differ from reader to reader, the cinematic "horse" will have very particular features, such as its size and colour. But this will happen only if the filmmaker decides that the object is to be seen by the viewer in its entirety with all, or at least most, of its features clearly visible. The filmmaker may, however, decide to show an object in a way which will make it recognizable but with some of its features purposely hidden. If the former way of presentation may be called "documentary," or practical, the latter can be described as the "defamiliarization" of the everyday. Therefore, if we see the head of a horse photographed from a low angle we may recognize the picture as that of a horse and we can describe some of the horse's features but we can never be certain of them. For example, a horse with a white head may

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objects and events. These objects and events, the argument goes, have intrinsic meanings which militate against the images being interpreted figuratively" (Calvin Pryluck, "The Film Metaphor Metaphor: The Use of Language Based Models in Film Study," *Literature Film Quarterly* 3.2 (1975), 119-30). For a general overview of the use of figures in film see N. Roy Clifton, *The Figure in Film* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1983).

or may not be white all over. The filmmaker may choose to confirm our suspicions, prove them wrong, or leave the question open. In either case he or she draws the viewer's attention to the object by putting the viewer's perception into question.

Most images of objects in Dovzhenko's films are used in their semantic function. Horses, which appear in all three films, are never intended to represent anything else other than domestic animals. Even when the horses speak, this extraordinary quality does not seem out of place or symbolize anything. In the fictional world of *Arsenal* horses speak the same way animals speak in fairy tales.

Images of the tractor in *Zemlia* can serve as examples of the semantic use of objects. Within the film's story the tractor is not meant to signify anything but a piece of farm machinery. Even though it is an object of excitement and expectation, and subsequently an object of glorification, its function remains the same throughout—specific, inanimate machine. Dovzhenko, however, uses cinematic devices to reflect the meaning the tractor has acquired in Soviet ideology. The drive to "tractorize" and collectivize the countryside, to solve all the agricultural problems of the Soviet Union was high on the political agenda of the time.[81] The tractor, as one of the main symbols of collectivization, thus deserved Dovzhenko's attention.

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[81] See, for example, Vance Kepley, Jr., *In the Service of the State: The Cinema of Alexander Dovzhenko* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 77-78.

The sequence of the tractor's arrival in the village (E: 214-409) begins with the excitement and expectations of the villagers. The source of this anticipatory mood is not initially revealed to the viewer. When the viewer learns that the villagers' behaviour is motivated by the news of a tractor arrival, this produces a comic effect. This kind of dramatic build-up continues until the tractor breaks down. It is then revealed that human ingenuity (and urine) are needed to make the machine run again. When the tractor finally arrives in the village and is greeted by crowds, Dovzhenko chooses to glorify its image. In several high-angle shots (E: 366, 368, 370, 372, 375) the tractor is removed from its surroundings and shown with smoke or fog slowly enveloping it. Thus, the image is not that of the tractor that has just arrived in the village but an abstract tractor from outside of the film's story, suspended in a cloud. The image not only breaks the film's continuity and brings attention to itself but also glorifies the object. It can also be seen as an expression of scepticism towards the "tractorization" campaign, as something unreal or removed from the reality of village life.

The accordion in the train crash sequence in *Arsenal* is one of the best examples of an object used in a substitutive function. When the train run by incompetent Communists crashes, a sequence of four shots (A: 259-261, 263) of an animated accordion[82] falling to the ground and "breathing" for the last time replaces images of dying soldiers and thus stands for the loss of life. This substitution is possible and effective because the image of the accordion is in the viewer's mind associated with the speeding train and the soldier playing the instrument. Indeed, there is a sequence, composed of close-ups of the accordion, which accelerates prior to the crash (A: 198-214, 216-218). The linking of the accordion to music, joy and life in the previous sequence cues the viewer to see the "last breath" of the accordion as the "last breath" of the soldiers. Shots of the accordion are intercut with three images of body parts protruding from the twisted metal and smoke (A: 262, 264, 265) to ensure that the viewer comprehends the allusion.

3c. Backdrops

Each of the films in Dovzhenko's silent trilogy has a different look. The lack of consistency can be attributed to the styles of the three artists that collaborated with Dovzhenko. From the traditional realist pictorial compositions of Vasyl' Krychevs'kyi in *Zvenyhora*, through Shpinel''s avant-garde diagonal compositions in *Arsenal*, to Krychevs'kyi Jr.'s off-centre compositions in *Zemlia*, the artists had indisputable influence on the respective films. Iosif Shpinel' described his role in the conceptualization of graphic design of *Arsenal* in this fashion:

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[82] The animated accordion sequence is also an example of special effects used in Dovzhenko's films. The technique of making objects move by single frame animation was established in the early years of cinema by Edwin S. Porter. See Salt, 130.

> As we know, an artist should "read" a screenplay with his own language. Not only "read" but also make it easier for the viewer to understand the literary idea; to affect his feelings. While a word is the most important element for a writer—for an artist it is form.[83]

Sets have particular importance in the filming of interiors. Usually the set characterizes the time and the place of the story and adds, in a discrete manner, to the acting.

The beginning of *Arsenal* presented a special challenge for Shpinel'. The horrors of war were to be presented in a series of tableaus which would convey to the viewer, in a synthetic manner, the suffering and despair of civilians affected by the war. One of the scenes involving a mother and her children culminates in the beating of the innocent but hungry children. Because the scene is episodic and not connected directly to the film's plot, its effectiveness depends on numerous details. Shpinel' recollects how his set design used to enforce the expressive quality of the scene:

> In Dovzhenko's screenplay about a "lonely house" he writes: "At their mother's side hungry children scream, cry, and demand. [...] The mother sinks

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[83] Iosif Shpinel', "Tvorcheskoe edinstvo," in *Dovzhenko v vospominaniakh sovremennikov* (Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1982), 76.

> into torpor because of the children's crying." How can one convey the face of war in a plastic way? How can one convey the tragedy of the people? With Dovzhenko and Demuts'kyi we considered several options. And I built the set of a simple village house. But I deprived it of all life and warmth. Small windows, an oven—unused for a long time, bare walls, a table and a bench. There is an ordinary bottle on the window sill. But I broke its neck. With this detail I wanted to stress the degree of destruction and despair. A viewer should have understood why the mother beats her hungry children...[84]

The work of set designers can be best appreciated in shots of interiors which are used in Dovzhenko's films only sporadically. Such interior images are rarely composed in depth. The action is usually foregrounded and the sets exist as backgrounds only. The movement of people in the interiors is typically limited to the right and left. Because takes are relatively short there is no time for actors to move towards or away from the camera, or to shift the plane of action. As Kokhno points out, Demuts'kyi's camera style was characterized by its laconism: nothing superfluous entered the frame.[85] For this reason alone the backgrounds of interiors were not always well lit. The walls in houses are bare and furniture is always simple; usually consisting of a table and sometimes a bench. Interestingly this principle is also applied to the interiors of "kulak's" dwellings in *Zemlia*. Their homes do not differ from the house of the much poorer Vasyl'. This is yet another example of the avoidance of polar oppositions in characterization which elicited accusations that Dovzhenko ignored the class struggle.

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[84] Shpinel', 77.

[85] Kokhno, 62.

While sets do not seem to characterize along the class lines, they do change according to national lines. The Khto/Qui/Wer sequence at the beginning of *Arsenal* portrays the homecoming of soldiers from different armies (A: 269-277). Each is awaited by his wife holding a child (conceived and born in the soldier's absence). The question "who" is asked in Ukrainian, French, and German and appears as an intertitle. The nationality of the soldiers and their wives is suggested to the viewer. In addition to the costumes and typical headdress worn by the soldiers and their wives, the background is visible and shows typical (even stereotypical) national households. For example, there is a Catholic crucifix on the wall and a small statuette of Napoleon in the French household (A: 275). Similar attention to detail informs the interior of a room in which a naked Natalka grieves for her beloved Vasyl in *Zemlia* (E: 878, 885, 887). An icon with the mandatory embroidered *rushnyk* (ie. ritual cloth) and a set of pillows piled high on a bed are typical elements of a Ukrainian peasant home.

An important compositional element serving as background in the films shot by Demuts'kyi is the open sky and clouds. *Zemlia*, in particular, contains a great number of portraits of individuals or groups shot with a low-angle camera. Depending on the camera's distance from the subject in many cases nothing but the sky can be seen in the background. In instances where the horizon line can be seen it is kept very low, usually within less than 30% of the frame area.

4. Rhythmic Compositional Elements

The issue of rhythm is not often connected with the frame composition. Most theoreticians, if they recognize rhythm as a compositional category, think of it in musical terms, as a function of time, and relate it to montage or to film sound. For the Ukrainians rhythm was also an element of frame composition. For Skrypnyk, it replaces the need for "balance" in individual frames. He rejects the notion that frame composition in film should be related to frame composition in painting. Frames in paintings are static or are composed in order to create the illusion of movement which needs to be balanced by inert objects or by movement in an opposing direction. Skrypnyk defines frame composition as follows:

> The goal of frame composition should be to create in the viewer the illusion of understandable and purposeful movement which will be organically and harmoniously bound to all other movements and static elements of the composition: this principal, dominant movement ought to be composed in unequivocal agreement with the semantic goal of a given piece of film and ought also to be based on a certain, imposed rhythm.[86]

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[86] Skrypnyk, 50.

Of course, compositional rhythm was not invented by Skrypnyk. His interest merely reflects the concerns of contemporary theoreticians and filmmakers alike.[87]

Skrypnyk is aware that rhythm is a culturally determined phenomenon and that certain rhythms can be perceived only by certain ethnic or racial groups. He, however, speculates that there must be some basic, absolute rhythm which is universal in its appeal.[88]

According to Skrypnyk there are two types of rhythm: dynamic and static. Dynamic rhythm he defines as: "the distribution in time of the elements of influence on human perception in a certain order, adopted on some purely biological basis of the human psyche."[89] The dynamic rhythm of composition is determined by compositional content. To some degree the opposite is also true: rhythm sometimes determines content.

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[87] This trend is best exemplified by French avant-garde film makers of the 1920s. A number of films explored notions of movement and rhythm. The most prominent is Fernand Leger's *Le Ballet mécanique* (1924). For a more detailed discussion on avant-garde filmmkers see Standish D. Lawder, *The Cubist Cinema* (New York: New York University Press, 1975).

[88] Although the importance of rhythm in film is acknowledged in every introductory text to film aesthetics very little has been done in this area since the formative period in film theory. The study of rhythm in film rarely goes beyond some general impressions critic may have after seeing a film that pays particular attention to the issue. The most promising are studies which draw on the findings of the psychology of perception. The most thorough study of rhythm in film from psychological and anthropological perspectives was completed by Nono Dragovič in his unpublished doctoral dissertation, the text of which was unavailable to me. Some of its findings are reported in "Rytm," *Słownik pojęć filmowych* vol. 2, Ed. Alicja Helman (Wrocław: Wiedza o kulturze, 1991), 36-68.

[89] Skrypnyk, 51.

The dynamic rhythm within a frame is always related to the movement of objects within the frame or to the movement of the camera. A combination of both is also a possibility. As I have already indicated, Dovzhenko's use of the moving camera is limited to tracking shots along a straight line. Therefore, Dovzhenko's dynamic rhythmic frame composition is achieved through the movement of objects and the tracking shots, or by a combination of the two techniques.

Dynamic rhythm is easiest to describe with the example of a passenger train moving across a frame. The train cars move at regular rhythmic intervals and create a monotonous, steady rhythm.[90] A variation on this would be a mixed cargo train which, in addition to steady periods of moving cars, would include different shapes to break the monotony. Dovzhenko exploits the natural dynamics of a moving train in *Arsenal*. Instead of having the train cross the frame, the camera moves with the train. The events taking place on the platforms of moving cars are seen against a rapidly changing background (eg., A: 178-202). We witness the acceleration of the train the way we would as passengers on this train—by seeing an increasingly rapidly changing landscape. All movement taking place on the car platforms must be seen in relation to the moving landscape and its rhythm.

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[90] This example is elaborated by Skrypnyk, 53-54. He proposes to represent rhythm in a graph form. For example, the steady rhythm of a moving train would be represented as a straight line parallel to the time axis.

Dovzhenko achieves interesting effects by breaking regular rhythms or imposing parallel rhythms. In one such instance, the camera tracks along a railway track on which corpses lie (A: 723). The rhythm is irregular as the bodies lie about in different directions and at irregular intervals. The shot that follows is taken in a similar way: it shows a row of soldiers marching along the track. This time the rhythm is very regular. The soldiers' rifles and bayonets line up in a regular pattern (A: 725). Then a shot similar to the first one conveys the irregular rhythm of the corpses again (A: 726). The contrast between the live and the dead soldiers is thus rhythmical.

Certain objects in Dovzhenko's films are used for their rhythmic qualities. Like other filmmakers Dovzhenko recognized the rhythmic potential of working machines as compositional elements. Each film in the trilogy contains an abstract sequence which utilizes shots of rhythmically moving machine parts. The combination and ordering of these shots create ecstatic rhythms. The well planned rhythms of the sequences begin with careful rhythmical frame compositions. The dynamic rhythm of machine parts usually consists of movements along straight lines and in circles. Movement along straight lines occurs in various directions and with variable speed. A mechanical hammer moves up and down with a steady rhythm (Z: 717, 713). A canon fires and retracts along a diagonal with a jerking rhythm (Z: 564, 571-573). The plates of a grain sifter shake rapidly producing a movement along a horizontal line which, often, is too fast to be perceived as such (E: 557-558).

The rhythmic potential of spinning wheels is also utilized by Dovzhenko quite frequently. In addition to providing interesting visual composition which breaks the predominance of straight lines in the frame, wheels and gears turn and spin with variable rotational speeds. The gears of the mechanism slow down (A: 571) and come to a stop (A: 582). Circular motions thus serve as indicators of beginnings and endings, acceleration or deceleration. A motionless wheel or a gear is unnatural and becomes, in the viewer's mind, an indicator of stillness or waiting (A: 971, 973).

Movements along straight lines and spinning wheels give frames steady mechanical rhythms. But Dovzhenko also mastered another series of movements, a combination of the two—movement along curved lines. This movement and rhythm are difficult to describe because of their irregularity. They are better grasped by discussing some examples. The arm of a dough mixing machine moves down, then forward and then up with a steady speed (E: 582-583). Its movement, although regular and repetitive, follows an irregular curve and surprises the viewer. Part of a grain sifting machine produces a similar effect (E: 554-555). A shaking wooden box with fabric tubes attached to it moves along an ellipsis on a horizontal plane. The movement is similar to someone swinging their hips in an irregular circle, as if they were using a hoola-hoop. Through his choice of highly regular but seemingly less mechanical movement Dovzhenko humanizes machines.

This characteristic is most pronounced in *Zemlia*. The rhythmical structure of the film relies on the internal compositional rhythms of separate frames. By making the movement and the rhythm of the machines match the movement and the rhythm of working human beings Dovzhenko creates a natural unity between the two. A similar unity is stressed thematically when the radiator fluid is replaced by men's urine.

The rhythmical compositional possibilities of machine movements along irregular curves contribute greatly to the lyrical qualities of *Zemlia*. Dovzhenko humanizes machines and depicts in a manner that their working rhythms match those of humans. This device differs from that of other directors of the 1920s and 30s. Films like Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1926) and Charles Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936) stress the mechanization of human beings. Chaplin's character and Lang's masses with their robot-like movements coincide with the rhythm of machines.

The importance Dovzhenko assigned to rhythm in film and particularly rhythm within frames is also discussed by his closest collaborators. Demuts'kyi, for example, recalls how during the shooting of *Arsenal* he was required to control the rhythm of a moving object. Dovzhenko wanted the beginning of the film to unfold according to the rhythm of a traditional Ukrainian epic poem-song, a *duma*. A woman sower (A: 19, 23-24) was thus required to move to the rhythm of *duma*. Demuts'kyi recalls:

> While Oleksandr Petrovych forced the old woman to sow the grain in front of the camera, I simultaneously, quietly sung to myself the bars of a *duma* which I knew, and looked through the viewfinder of the camera so the movements of the woman coincided with the rhythm of the song. By coordinating our actions in a such way we achieved the desired rhythm.[91]

Dovzhenko's idea of a rhythmic composition also required cooperation and understanding from actors. The shooting of *Zemlia* often took several takes because Dovzhenko was not satisfied with the rhythm of an actor's movements. A classic example is Vasyl's dance sequence which Dovzhenko decided to shoot in long and medium shots (E: 641-649). He thought, however, that the rhythm of Vasyl's feet hitting the ground was not adequately prominent in the frame. For that reason he ordered Svashenko, who played Vasyl', to wear boots several sized too large for him. As a result, the presence of the boots as a rhythmic element was stressed and the viewer's attention brought to them. Larger boots also raised more dust from the road.[92]

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[91] Demuts'kyi quoted in Kokhno, 30.

Static rhythm is even more problematic to define since rhythm is usually perceived as a temporal phenomenon. Static rhythm as present, for example, in architecture is determined by the nature of human perception. The relatively small angle of vision (about 2 degrees) of the human eye forces us to view larger objects analytically by involuntarily moving our eyes. When, during this movement, our eye encounters graphic patterns and repetitions, their distribution produces the illusion of movement and rhythm. For that reason Skrypnyk proposes to call such rhythm *imaginary-dynamic rhythm*.[93] The presence of both dynamic and imaginary-dynamic rhythms within a frame needs to be coordinated as they can exist in *harmony* or be *contrasted*.

Dovzhenko's awareness of the imaginary-dynamic rhythm is best exemplified by his inclusion of static, or nearly static shots in the trilogy. *Arsenal* offers the most striking examples of this. Shots in which people suddenly freeze into position are used in the sequence illustrating responses to the anticipated artillery attack. In one such shot three men in the street stop in dynamic poses while walking in various directions (A: 683). Stopping the action in progress is a rather tricky cinematic technique. It brings attention to itself mainly because of the absence of similar occurrences in real life. Stopped, slowed or accelerated motion was a cinematic effect used for various purposes (mainly comic) throughout the silent period. Dovzhenko, however, does not use this device. After the initial shock, the viewer realizes that it is not a typical freeze frame, since only the people stop, not the whole world. Tree branches continue to move in the wind in the background. The rhythm of the frame shifts abruptly from one created by moving human figures to the much less pronounced rhythm of rustling leaves.

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[92] See Semén Svashenko, "Iak narodzhuvavsia tanets' Vasylia," *Mystetstvo* no. 3 (1966), 23-24; reprinted in *Iskusstvo kino* no. 1 (1967), 77-80.

[93] He provides further typology of this kind of rhythm into *perceptive* and *conceptual* imaginary-dynamic rhythms. The differences lie in the origin of such rhythms. The former is the result of certain characteristics of human visual perception and the latter comes into being as a result of our ability to retain the impression of rhythms in our minds for a certain length of time. See Skrypnyk, 55-57.

What purpose does such a device serve in the film? First, through its atypical use of motion and stillness, it suggests to the viewer that during a war or revolution the world continues even when people are eliminated. If the people were to die in the scene, the effect would have been less marked because viewers would have already become accustomed to such scenes throughout the film. Here something unusual happens to people that has no equivalent in the real world. The striking effect is derived from the sudden elimination of one rhythm and the preservation of the other. This violation of the natural rhythm of the world brings the viewer's attention to the humans who are deprived of this rhythm.

In other instances when Dovzhenko uses almost static shots, imaginary-dynamic rhythms force the viewer to scan the shot for the smallest signs of movement. In this way the viewer has to pay equal attention to all elements within the frame, not only to the moving human figure which normally receives so much of our attention. Shot duration in such instances plays an important role. For example, at the beginning of *Arsenal* we see a shot of an almost motionless woman in the middle of a hut (A: 3). Movement in the picture is completely reduced ; it is present only to the degree that we are able to recognize the image as part of a film rather than a photograph. Naturally, we expect that the human figure will move. When, in time, it does not move, our eyes search for something else in the frame. Not only does the director bring our attention to the sparse surroundings of the woman and her condition but he also forces us to generate an imaginary rhythm resulting from our eye movement.

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The quality of the photographic images in Dovzhenko's films which enter the montage process must be stressed. His mastery of external and internal compositional devices executed in collaboration with other artists deserves particular attention. Although Dovzhenko cannot be credited with any formal cinematic innovations, like D.W. Griffith or S. Eisenstein, his modification of certain devices to suit his subject matter make his films highly original. Within the domain of external compositional elements, Dovzhenko gave his films a lyrical quality through his mastery of lens diffusion processes and his careful use of light in the style of Impressionist painting. The landscapes and portraits executed by Demuts'kyi are particularly striking.

Dovzhenko's preferences in camera distance and angle seem to be dictated by the subject matter of his films. They generate considerable stylistic differences among the films. In this respect *Arsenal*, which relies heavily on close-ups and more extreme camera angles, is most avant-garde in its vision. Special effects in *Zvenyhora*, on the other hand, signal Dovzhenko's approach to Ukrainian history.

Internal compositional elements in Dovzhenko's films are characterized by economy of expression. Frames seem to contain only essential elements. This is true for images of persons, images of objects, and sets. Acting follows the Berezil' theatre school which required actors to create images. These images, in turn, became the basis of photographic images of people. Objects in Dovzhenko's films appear as often as people and assume expressive and compositional functions. Backgrounds do not interfere with photographed objects and do not compete with them for the viewer's attention. Instead, they contribute to the film's mood and rhythm.

Dovzhenko paid exceptional attention to the rhythm of his films. The rhythmical composition of the frame, a component of the overall rhythmic composition, included movement within the frame, as well as the movement of the camera. Both of these were carefully designed to achieve the desired effect. Rhythm, as a compositional element, was essential to achieving the lyrical quality of Dovzhenko's photographic images and to the notion of poetic cinema.

III. A Compromise with Literature?: Making Sense of Intertitles

Intertitles in silent cinema are amongst the most neglected elements in research on silent film.[1] Because of the rapid development of film form at the beginning of this century, titles have been viewed, for the most part, in reference to the "talkies." The film directors of the silent era did not compare intertitles to sound possibilities, as we do today, but only to the rich silent cinematic tradition available to them in their time. By the same token, contemporary audiences of silent cinema expected and appreciated what was technologically available to them.

This chapter describes the use of intertitles in the silent cinema of the 1920s and reviews theoretical debates surrounding them. By comparing the aesthetic choices made by

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[1] There is no theory of intertitles developed in scholarly literature. The most insightful discussion of this problem can be found in works devoted to film style: David Bordwell, Janet Steiger and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) and Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* (London: Starword, 1983). The most comprehensive discussion on the subject is available in Russian, see chap. 6 of Iurii Tsivian's *Istoricheskaia retseptsiia kino: Kinematograf v Rossii 1896-1930* (Riga: Zinatne, 1991), 274-321. See also chaps. 1-2 in Marek Hendrykowski's *Słowo w filmie: Historia, teoria, interpretacja* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1982), 5-55; William F. Van Wert, "Intertitles," *Sight and Sound* 49.2 (1980), 98-105 and Brad Chisholm, "Reading Intertitles." *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 15.3 (1987), 137-42.

Dovzhenko with prevailing film practices of his time, I will show how he conformed to them and to what degree he managed to depart from them. Then I will discuss whether intertitles in Dovzhenko's films contribute in any sense to the notion of "poetic cinema." I will show the difficulties audiences may have had when confronting Dovzhenko's films for the first time. A great number of these difficulties has not disappeared with the development of cinematic form.

Many critics view intertitles as the most obvious literary element adopted by cinema in its early days. From the time of their inception, intertitles have been labelled as a cinematic element and, alternately, as an anti-cinematic aspect. Skrypnyk wrote of film and literature: "Cinema has to humiliate itself and seek compromises. Intertitles constitute the first major compromise..."[2] Did intertitles indeed have a purely literary function and was cinema compromising?

1. The Origin of Intertitles

Cinema was never silent. The viewing experience of early audiences was not diametrically different from ours. Aural stimuli were always part of watching a film. In the early days of cinema, however, these were provided not by the filmmaker but by film exhibitors. Musical accompaniment was only one of many such aural stimuli directed at early film audiences. Other stimuli included voice-over narration or the explanation of events by a "lecturer;" dialogues read or improvised by actors behind the screen; and various other sound effects. The quality of music that accompanied film screenings also varied: inexpensive theatres offered piano accompaniment, while the most expensive of the theatres provided full size orchestras.

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[2] Leonid Skrypnyk, *Narysy z teorii mystetstva kino* (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1928), 20.

Language was part of cinema as an audio-visual medium from the beginning. With the exception of the first five years, when films were very simple (usually consisting of a single shot and not requiring explanation), the spoken and then the written word has always been a part of film presentation. The voice of a "lecturer" and sometimes those of actors, were often heard during film screenings in the first decade of this century.[3] Live voices were subsequently replaced by intertitles. The lecturer's and the actors' voices reappeared during the late 1920s at which time, however, they were recorded on the film strip and controlled by the filmmaker. In the Russian Empire the unique practice of "cine-declamation" was developed. The live voice of an actor appearing in the film read dialogues and was heard from behind the film screen.[4] Titles merely replaced the spoken word in the multimedia presentation that constituted the early cinema.

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[3] André Gaudreault, "Showing and Telling: Image and Word in Early Cinema," *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative* ed. Thomas Elsaesser (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 274-81.

Film viewing practices in Imperial Russia (and later in the Soviet Union) did not differ markedly from those elsewhere. Except for minor local variations, the experience of silent films was parallel to that of Western countries.[5] Local touches included the use of different instruments to accompany films in theatres. In Ukraine, for example, an accordion was often used in lieu of a piano. A trio of piano, cello and violin was also commonly employed. The type of music played depended on the tastes of particular audiences. On rare occasions musicians even played the musical requests of the audience for an additional fee.[6]

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[4] Tsivian, 276-78. According to Tsivian the role of the "kinodeklamator" differed from that of a lecturer in their relationship to the film diegesis. The lecturer was visible to the audience outside of the film screen, often illuminated by a small reading lamp. The "kinodeklamator" was hidden behind the screen and his voice was perceived by the audience as coming from within the film diegesis.

[5] One of the most original in this respect is Japan where the film industry employed *benshi*, oral performers who played vocal parts and provided commentary to films. They were very popular and often became main attractions of the film presentation. See David Bordwell, *Ozu and the Poetics of Cinema* (London: BFI, 1988), 18-19; Noël Burch, *To the Distant Observer: Form and Meaning in the Japanese Cinema* (London: Scolar Press, 1979).

[6] M. Ia. Landesman, *Tak pochynalosia kino: Rozpovidi pro dozhovtnevyi kinematohraf* (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1972), 39-40. Landesman also gives evidence of the, so called, "singing" films in Ukraine as early as 1907. Attempts were made to synchronize images of singing actors on the screen with the sound reproduced by a record player. Total synchronization was

2. What is Missing in Intertitles Today?

The research into silent film intertitles is a vast area of study. As Iurii Tsivian has shown, a great number of issues need to be examined in order to arrive at a historical poetics or a theory of intertitles. Today some of these issues can be examined only in limited fashion. I will identify the intricacies which, for various reasons, cannot be studied in a great number of silent films and, consequently, circumscribe my discussion of Dovzhenko's use of intertitles.

The study of the graphic design of intertitles and their significance in the overall structure of films can only be undertaken only with access to the original versions of films. The translation of titles into foreign languages results in alterations to the graphic design of the titles. Elaborate designs were often simplified or changed to suit the tastes of a new market or to save money. Early title cards, as they were known at the time, also served as copyright devices. The films were not copyrighted in their entirety but each scene had a separate copyright. This allowed film companies to show programmes consisting of selected sequences from many films. In addition to the text of the title, each title card bore the name of the production company. This practice did not exist during Dovzhenko's time because it was abandoned when films became longer. Moreover, there is no evidence that it was

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rarely achieved and the idea was abandoned.

observed in the Russian Empire.

Colour is another element to which Tsivian brings our attention. Most prints of silent films in circulation today are black and white. This was not the case during the 1910s and 1920s. Film prints were tinted by hand or colour washed[7] to give the audience a semblance of natural colours. This process—now forgotten and overlooked—has also affected intertitles. Many critics and theoreticians of the era argued that the best colours for intertitles were green or blue on black backgrounds, mainly because these combinations were thought to soothe the eyes. The critics allowed the use of other colours only for special effects; the preferred colours being red and yellow because they were thought "expressive." The critics cautioned against the use of these colours over long periods to prevent tiring the eyes.[8]

The tradition of printing extradiegetic titles on black backgrounds has acquired semiotic significance. For Tsivian this tradition evolved because of the need to differentiate film intertitles from "printed pages." This process identified the two different media.[9] Tsivian's semiotic argument may very well be valid; however, the reason for reverse colours in film intertitles was probably more pragmatic. For a viewer seated in a dark movie theatre a white screen would very likely be visually disturbing. Since the lettering in the longest of intertitles takes only a small portion of the entire screen area, the predominance of a white background would appear in high contrast to other shots in the film. It should be noted that early films are generally much darker than more recent ones. Primitive lighting systems that required enormous amounts of energy as well as slow film stocks are to be blamed for the darker and gloomier look of early pictures.

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[7] Entire films or sequences thereof were subjected to a chemical process which replaced the black and white look for another colour, for example, sepia. While the films remained monochrome, the use of colours assigned to different sequences was aesthetically motivated and cued the audience to perceive sequences in a certain way.

[8] S. A. Timoshenko, *Iskusstvo kino i montazh fil'ma* (Leningrad: Academia, 1926), 72.

3. Early Theories of Intertitles

Intertitles have been often viewed by critics and theoreticians as a necessary evil, a substitute for sound stemming from a technological handicap. Critics, particularly within the post-formalist tradition, have overlooked the non-semantic functions which intertitles played in silent films. Such views, having originated in avant-garde circles, promoted "pure cinema" and often evaluated films on the basis of the number of intertitles: the fewer the better. This was, however, not always the case. Generally speaking, intertitles were considered a part of a film's "language," and functioned in conjunction with visuals in the process of narration. Titles entered the narrative whenever the visual "language" could not adequately illustrate an element in a film or when an intertitle was the more economic option. For example, an ellipsis of twenty years would require extensive development in characterization and setting while a simple title such as "twenty years later..." saved unnecessary expense and allowed the filmmaker to concentrate on the film's story. This method survived the sound revolution and is still widely used by filmmakers.

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[9] Tsivian, 287-88.

As Tsivian suggests, the reception of cinema operates by two modes: the mode of "reading" an iconic text and the mode of reading words.[10] The discussion on the preeminence of one of these modes over the other has accompanied the development of intertitles throughout their history, and has changed correspondingly with changes in the expected functions of intertitles. Along with these trends there has always been an avant-garde trend towards "pure cinema," which saw no need for titles whatsoever.[11] The avant-garde trend, though still extant, reached its peak during the 1920s. Examples include the French avant-garde or the films by Dziga Vertov made in

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[10] Tsivian, 285-87.

[11] During the mid-1910s there was a widespread belief in Hollywood that film without intertitles was an ideal. See Bordwell, Steiger and Thompson, 186.

Russia and Ukraine.[12]

How did Soviet theoreticians of the 1920s perceive intertitles? Formally inclined film theoreticians agreed that titles are an integral part of motion pictures rather than an extraneous element to be avoided. In Timoshenko's opinion, for example, intertitles may be considered literary devices only to the degree in which any correctly written phrase may or may not be literary.[13] Pudovkin similarly argues that titles are only superfluous in the sense in which a whole scene can be superfluous.[14]

These conclusions come from a belief shared by almost all theoreticians of the time that an *intertitle is a montage shot*. Such classification of intertitles had further implications. If an intertitle is a montage shot, as Timoshenko argued, it should have properties similar to a shot. Among these properties he lists shot length as well as the rhythm and tempo expressed by the shot's content ("Fire!" [dynamic]; "In the morning..." [peaceful]). Timoshenko also draws parallels between letter size and camera angle. For example, a long shot would be equivalent to a longer sentence describing details and printed in small letters. Accordingly, close-ups would be paralleled by brief titles of one word or less and printed in very large typeface so as to occupy the entire frame.[15] The effectiveness of such titles was discovered quite early in the evolution of the form and was used extensively in propaganda films, commonly referred to as agit-prop. They were also used by the masters of the Soviet montage tradition, the best known example of which comes from *Bronenosets Potemkin (Battleship Potemkin)*. The title, "Brothers!" appears several times in large lettering. In William F. van Wert's opinion "[the title] suggests an essentially cinematic sense of the printed word and of its filmic possibilities as a *visual* rather than as a kind of computerized readout with neutral data."[16]

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[12] See Van Wert; and P. Adams Sitney, "Image and Title in Avant-Garde Cinema," *October* 11 (1979), 97-112.

[13] Timoshenko, 72.

[14] Vsevolod Pudovkin, *Film Technique and Film Acting*, trans. and ed. Ivor Montagu (London: Vision, 1974), 59.

4. Types of Intertitles

Extradiegetic titles, or those originating outside of the film diegesis, are generally classified according to their function as *expository titles* and *dialogue titles*. The alternative names for these titles used by Pudovkin were "continuity titles" and "spoken titles" respectively. In Skrypnyk's terminology[17] expository titles were labelled as "from the author." Voznesenskii identified them as "explanatory."[18] Voznesenskii also singled out a category of "thought titles" (*myslitelnaia nadpis'*) which for him were neither "explanatory" nor dialogue titles.[19] In the Western tradition this type has belonged to the category of expository titles. The other type are *diegetic* which, often, are referred to as "inserts" in Hollywood.[20] These are written words that are part of the film's diegesis, that is, words existing within the confines of film story and film space. They include letters written or received by the characters, street signs, newspaper headlines, posters and other written signs placed within the film's frame. Diegetic titles were often named *epistolary* since they most often appeared in the form of letters.

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[15] Timoshenko, 71.

[16] Van Wert, 103.

[17] Skrypnyk, 78.

4a. Expository Titles

In Russian and Ukrainian sources expository intertitles are often identified as being "from the author." While the Western designation is concerned with narrative function, the Russian one implies a much broader definition of the term. None of the Soviet theoreticians, however, provided a comprehensive definition of what the term encompassed. It is generally understood that all intertitles which are not dialogue (i.e., do not represent the direct speech or thought of the characters) originate from the author. They may be part of the story and also part of the discourse; or to use the Formalist idiom, they may be parts of "fabula" and "syuzhet" respectively. A recent study by Brad Chisholm offers a categorization of expository titles. Couching his research in Seymour Chatman's distinction between story and discourse,[21] and illustrating it with examples from D. W. Griffith's *Broken Blossoms*, Chisholm distinguishes seven functional semantic categories of expository intertitles. Four of Chisholm's categories are straight-forward: 1) Identifications (introductions of characters, places and objects); 2) Characterizations (i.e., more detailed descriptions of characters, places and objects); 3) Temporal Markers which situate the narrative within time and space; and 4) Narrative Summaries (i.e., clarifications or summaries of actions not shown but relevant to the narrative).

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[18] A. Voznesenskii, *Iskusstvo ekrana: Rukovodstvo dlia kino-akterov i rezhisserov* (Kyiv: Sorabkop, 1924), 70.

[19] Voznesenskii, 70.

[20] Bordwell, Steiger and Thompson, 188-89.

The subsequent three categories proposed by Chisholm are not as clearly defined. A group of intertitles called "Mediated Thoughts/Paraphrased Dialogue," includes "reports of things the characters do *not* say, think, or do."[22] In most cases, as Chisholm's examples show, these intertitles are already included in the category of Narrative Summary. Similarly, the category of "Commentary on Story," which applies to the story and the diegetic world but which does not advance the plot, is part of characterization—albeit marked by a subjective narrator. The most problematic in Chisholm's categorization is "Commentary on discourse" which applies to "the film medium itself and the very act of perceiving."[23] This category of titles is never essential to the comprehension of the narrative and, unlike other categories, does not preserve a semblance of objectivity. In other words, it depends on the degree of the narrator's reliability.

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[21] See Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1978); idem, *Coming to Terms: The Rhetoric of Narrative in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

Chisholm's categorization, in my opinion, can be reduced to four categories, if we allow for broader definitions with narrative functions remaining the same. Differences would be in the amount of information each category releases. Thus, my modified classification of expository intertitles would be: 1) identification and characterization (people, objects and locales); 2) temporal markers; 3) narrative summary; and 4) free commentaries (by the film's implied narrator) which do not advance the plot but do have the rhetorical function of drawing attention to other titles or visual devices. Within each category various degrees of narrative knowledge would be permissible. As M. Carol Hamand demonstrated for the Hollywood prestige films of the late 1920s, titles differ in accordance with their "authority" to reveal information and their potential to explain, interpret and describe diegetic and extradiegetic events and states. As with varying degrees of omniscience in literary narratives, the "knowledge exhibited in the [intertitles] ranges from intimate details of the character's thoughts and emotions to a broad understanding of the fiction in the films as wholes and even to the world outside the fiction."[24]

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[22] Chisholm, 139.

[23] Chisholm, 140.

In Dovzhenko's silent trilogy the use of expository titles gradually decreases. This reflects a trend at the end of the silent period in cinema. A quantitative analysis of titles in his three films shows that *Zvenyhora* contains 84 including 20 non-dialogue[25] titles; *Arsenal* contains 122 and of these 20 are expository; and *Zemlia* contains 121, none of which is expository. These figures may be misleading if one wants to establish Dovzhenko's reliance on the written word in the narrative process.

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[24] M. Carol Hamand, "The Effects of the Adoption of Sound on Narrative and Narration in the American Cinema," unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, (University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1983), 237. She classifies the knowledge displayed in Hollywood prestige films at the end of silent era as follows: 1) Authority to reveal the inner states of the characters (feelings and thoughts). 2) Ability to expose the internal states of group of characters. 3) Authority to label characters, times and places. 4) Ability to explain upcoming events before they are even shown on the screen. 5) Ability to interpret and evaluate actions in their relation to the story. 6) Ability to describe off-screen action never dramatized on the screen. 7) Ability to present a privileged view of mankind.

In *Zvenyhora*, despite the lowest overall number of intertitles and a fairly low number of expository ones, the film narrative relies more heavily on titles. Expository titles in *Zvenyhora* tend to be much longer than those in *Arsenal*; moreover, they betray an overt literary character. Often written in full descriptive sentences, they take the form of an exposition similar to that found in nineteenth century novels. Consider the title at the beginning of the film. The title appears before any of the visuals: "Soaked in blood, sealed in secrecy, shrouded in legend, treasures of the country have been buried for ages in Ukrainian soil"[26] (Z: 1). The descriptive language segmented with commas makes the sentence a long read for the viewer. The title also sets a certain visual rhythm which is matched by the shots that follow. An immobile-camera long shot of Cossacks riding horses is in slow motion. The horses and the Cossacks appear to flow slowly in space. The slow rhythm of the sentence established from the onset of the film seems to match the rhythm of objects moving within the frame. The next title is equally lengthy; written in a similar style, it prolongs the slow beginning. Once again, in a style borrowed from novels, the title introduces the film's main character: "The centuries-old guardian, preserver of antiques, a moss-covered grandfather, watches now as he watched when Cossack robbers roamed the country 300 years-1000 years ago" (Z: 3). This title is also followed by a long shot in slow motion that introduces the grandfather leading a horse which pulls a cart.

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[25] This count does not include the story within a story as told by the grandfather. Although they function as expository titles for the grandfather's narrative, they remain dialogue titles for the film as a whole.

[26] This and subsequent intertitles are transcribed from video copies of Dovzhenko's films available commercially in North America. Ukrainian names, which appear there in various translations and transliterations, have been changed to their original Ukrainian forms.

The use of long expository titles at the beginning of *Zvenyhora* attests to the fact that Dovzhenko considered titles to be montage shots possessing shot properties. He intercuts shots filmed at long distances with long titles that demand from the viewer to pay attention to detail and considerable time for reading. The slow reading of a title is then matched in speed and rhythm by shots in slow motion. This rather unusual method of beginning the film with slow motion shots marks the first part of the film as a dream (Z: 1-169). Through slow motion the viewer is cued to perceive the beginning of the film as something out of the ordinary. Although the film assumes a normal pace and speed after the first five shots, the viewer learns that it was an extended dream sequence only some 200 shots later, at the point when the grandfather wakes-up. Thus, the initial two expository titles, aside from their semantic function of identifying and characterizing, have the stylistic function of setting the mood and marking the rhythm for the dream sequence.

Throughout *Zvenyhora* and *Arsenal* expository titles are used most often to fulfil the semantic functions I have just described. Dovzhenko uses the titles to introduce new characters ("Grandfather had a grandson Pavlo") or objects ("The armored car, Free Ukraine"). The titles also serve as temporal markers when Dovzhenko attempts to show workers waiting before a battle. Their ordeal is shown with titles that indicate the number of elapsed hours and with shots that show the unchanged expressions and poses of the workers. Titles saying simply "The twenty-fourth hour" and "The forty-eighth hour" (A: 907 and A: 909) are inserted at equal intervals among shots of the waiting workers. This rhythmic intercutting informs the viewer of the passing of time, and also allows him to experience the monotonous character of the event being depicted.

Some expository titles seem to combine several semantic functions. Besides indicating the passage of time, the following title provides a narrative summary: "Centuries passed. People were born and died—trains passed over Ukrainian plains. But the hills and forests of Zven[yh]ora kept Grandfather's secret" (Z: 146). Narrative summaries, like the one just cited, appear most often in *Zvenyhora*, a film whose plot spans over a thousand years of Ukrainian history. Generally speaking, the semantic function of Dovzhenko's expository titles does not differ from the norms accepted in his time by filmmakers around the world.

Hamand has suggested that expository titles might be further classified according to their origin. In her sample of prestige Hollywood films from the 1920s she distinguishes two types of descriptive titles. Although all of them derive from outside the world of the films, Hamand further divides into those "attributed to a source outside the fiction and those left unattributed."[27] Only a relatively small number of titles with an attributable source were used; the majority had no identifiable origin. The source in the first group was usually a passage from the Bible, with the origin stated at the bottom of the title card. Far less popular was the practice of identifying the title as a proverb. On such occasions the source was ancient lore and identified, to give one example, as an "Arab Proverb."[28] Most often expository titles were left unattributed and their source unmentioned.

The expository titles in Dovzhenko's trilogy are not attributed to any sources outside the fictional worlds of the films. During the viewing process, however, some of them may have been recognized by the audience as attributable to such external sources. Dovzhenko, as a rule, uses phrases clearly of folkloric origin. Often, these phrases set a certain mood for the narration allowing it to unfold in the form of an oral tale. The beginning of *Arsenal* serves as an excellent example of this. Its expository titles would have been easily identified by viewers as ones originating in a folk tale. The intertitle "There was a mother who had three sons"[29] (A: 2) precedes a shot of a peasant woman standing motionless in the middle of an empty house. Used early in the film, the title unmistakeably frames the film sequence as a fairy tale, despite the fact that the setting is realistic. Besides identifying the woman as the mother of sons, the title promises the viewer a story, a fairy tale with a traditional happy ending. The number of sons—set according to folkloric tradition—promises the viewer a tale centred on the sons, with the youngest one likely to conquer all obstacles he encounters. But the sons are never introduced. The next title

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[27] Hamand, 232.

[28] Hamand, 233.

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[29] In Ukrainian this title reads "Oi bulo v materi try syny." The emphatic particle "Oi" suggests that it is a line from a folk song or a longer narrative epic poem, *duma*, which was performed by blind travelling musicians, *lirnyky* or *kobzari*. A large number of Ukrainian folk songs begin with "Oi!" The traditions of *lirnyky* or *kobzari* were alive in Ukraine until the early 1930s when it was decided that they posed a threat to Soviet rule and were brutally killed.

"There was a war" (A: 4), once again follows the fairy tale formula for setting the time of the story. Several shots of military trenches with barbed wire and clouds of smoke billowing over them illustrate "the time." There are some soldiers in the trenches. Are they the woman's sons? We never learn this. In the several shots that follow we see a village street of women, cripples and a policeman. The title then reads "And mother had no sons" (A: 18) and thus brings an end to the story. This simple story—which has no plot relationship to the rest of the film and is narrated in 18 shots including three expository titles—is identified by the audience as a kind of a fairy tale. The story has no happy ending; it serves as an introduction to a film about the revolution in Ukraine. Though sketch-like and simple, the folk form of the story raises the viewers' expectations and then abruptly disappoints them with an ending that has no alternative resolution and no further development. The story aims to shock the viewer just as war shocks. Dovzhenko accomplishes his goal through the compositional narrative device of expository titles, rather than through the semantic means of disturbing frame content which are employed in *Un chien andalou.*[30]

It is also possible to detect the folk origin of some of the expository titles in *Zvenyhora*. These expository titles might be better described using the Ukrainian designation "from the author." The film's story is told by a narrator whose storytelling techniques and use of language imply a familiarity with folklore. Often, the narrator offers comments on the story in the form of proverbs or text stylized as proverbs. Consider, for example, the title "Dogs are not fed when taken hunting. They build road when they are at war" (Z: 267), which is best understood if translated as "You don't feed the dogs when you're going hunting... and here they are, building a road when there's is a war on."[31] While the first part of the title is a proverb, the second part is an ironic comment on the lack of planning in the war efforts of the Russian Empire. Although the folk source of the proverb is not identified in the intertitle, it was most likely recognized as folkloric by contemporary viewers. By juxtaposing the proverb with a commentary, the narrator reveals himself as an insider, as one who knows the folk ways of the people. He also introduces a certain poetic ambiguity through his metaphoric use of language. The title does not merely explain the story. Rather, it suggests an interpretation. This aspect of intertitles was also recognized by Hollywood. A well written expository title, according to a title writer, "is connotative: it fills out the gaps in the pictures and 'suggests even more than it tells'."[32]

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[30] Released the same year as *Arsenal*, *Un chien andalou* by Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dali shocks the viewer with its early shot of a woman's eye being slashed with a razor.

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[31] The Ukrainian original reads: "Ne todi sobak hoduiut', koly na poliuvannia idut'... a vony dorohu prokladaiut', koly na viinu ity treba." English translation by Marco Carynnyk (unpublished manuscript).

The language of Dovzhenko's expository titles often does not belong to everyday usage. In Formalist terminology, the titles belong within the category of "poetic language."[33] While the distinction between everyday usage, often called "practical" language, and "poetic" language, used with an artistic function in mind, holds true for literature, it is of limited value for cinematic evaluation. Cinema did not possess everyday language for expository titles. Language adopted from literary prose (ie. poetic language) became an accepted standard for expository titles, that is to say, for the everyday language of cinema. The impulse to avoid expository titles, propagated by the avant-garde and by the so-called "art cinema" may thus be considered as "poetic" usage of language. Consequently, the lack of expository titles in Dovzhenko's *Zemlia* can be seen as a poetic device. Conversely, language usage in the expository titles in *Zvenyhora* and *Arsenal* cannot be considered "poetic" because, more often than not, their language remained in line with contemporary film practices. In brief, expository titles in Dovzhenko's silent films do not have a single characteristic according to which they could be classified as "poetic."

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[32] Clara De Lissa Berg, quoted in Hamand, 269.

[33] The Formalists distinguished between poetic language "where the sounds are valuable *per se*" and "practical" or informative language which is aesthetically neutral. See Victor Erlich, *Russian Formalism: History - Doctrine* (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), 73-74.

4b. Dialogue Titles

In the silent cinema of the 1920s the difference between dialogue and expository titles was emphasized in two ways. Dialogue cards were distinguished typographically through the use of quotation marks and an intricately ornamented first letter. The placing of dialogue titles within narrative also differed. As a rule they were framed by a medium shot of a character speaking. This bracketing device did not exist for expository titles.

The practice of marking dialogue titles with quotation marks was observed mainly in Hollywood. The European cinema used them less consistently, and often relied on hyphens and other punctuation marks to mark dialogue lines. It was also an accepted practice not to set off dialogues in any manner whatsoever; in such cases the origin of the title was not necessarily clear. It may have been a line spoken by one of the characters, a character's thought, the narrator's commentary on the story or, quite often, a lyrical epigraph. Because the source of the words could not be determined, the audience was expected to perform dialectic operations to connect the title to the visuals and thus arrive at a certain meaning. This meaning was often not predetermined and left the film's plot open, thus allowing for multiple interpretations.

During the last years of silent cinema dialogue titles were the preferred mode for both filmmakers and their audiences. Anticipating the introduction of sound, filmmakers sought to reduce or eliminate expository titles altogether.[34] Dovzhenko's *Zemlia*, which contains only dialogue titles, best exemplifies this trend. The total reliance on dialogue titles in *Zemlia* can also be explained by the fact that, already in the initial stages of its production, this film was intended to become the first Ukrainian sound film. Political intervention changed this plan. Ironically, the first Ukrainian sound film was made in Russian by Dziga Vertov.

There is no semantic feature in Dovzhenko's dialogue titles which might set them apart from those by other filmmakers, or that may have contributed to the notion of poetic cinema. They are an interesting subject for study not so much because of their content, but rather because of the manner in which they are employed. In all of Dovzhenko's films dialogue titles tend to be short; language is used in an economical fashion. The Grandfather's story in *Zvenyhora* is an exception; here dialogue titles take the form of expository ones in order to narrate a story within a story. Dovzhenko does not use a similar narrative device in any of his subsequent films.

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[34] Salt, 160. The trend has begun in Hollywood in the late 1910s. European cinemas lagged in this respect several years.

Although dialogue titles are overwhelmingly present in Dovzhenko's silent films it would be difficult to speak of dialogues or conversations taking place. The dialogues in the films are limited to sporadic exchanges; fragments of conversations or speeches; the chants of a crowd; or even rhetorical questions, posed by the characters in dialogue with the audience. Conversations in Dovzhenko's films never resemble those established by the classical Hollywood cinema.

Dovzhenko uses narrative strategies in which dialogue titles play an important role but are not crucial to the development of the plot. In the three films in question there is only one scene that approximates the length of a typical conversation found in a classical Hollywood film of the period. The conversation between Vasyl and his father at the beginning of *Zemlia* does, in fact, resemble a classical Hollywood exchange with respect to content: two people argue and each presents his point of view. The exchange develops as follows:

> Vasyl: "Well, Pop, now we'll put an end to the rich farmers. And get tractors too."
> Opanas: "But, [Vasyl], maybe you're forgetting—what's his name..."
> Vasyl: "We'll get tractors and take earth away from them."
> Opanas: "That's just what I say—maybe you're forgetting—what's his name..."
> Opanas: "They can get along without you. No need to go."
> Opanas: "Even as it is, the village is laughing."
> Vasyl: "It's not the village that's laughing, Pop,

> it's the rich farmers, and the dopes."
> Opanas: "So you think I'm a dope?"
> Vasyl: "Not a dope, Daddy, but just getting old."

Although this conversation provides little insight into topics beyond the subject of collectivization and "tractorization" of Ukrainian villages, the scene has theoretical significance for film scholars. Like many others in *Zemlia*, the scene challenges the viewer's assumptions about spacial clarity and completeness. There is no establishing shot and the viewer sees shots of Opanas alternating with shots of Vasyl. The men's positions in space and in relation to one another are ambiguous because the viewer sees only the backs of the men. The graphic similarity of the men's backs, in Vance Kepley's opinion, is the dominant feature of the conversation because it underlines the commonality of the characters' class origin.[35] This spacial ambiguity is only partially resolved:

> [w]e have too few cues—no eyelines, no overall orientation, no symmetrically oblique setups. Eventually, however, the men's heads turn slightly left or right, and we grasp gratefully at one cue. This proves consistent: Father and son are most likely standing side by side, not back to back.[36]

A traditional conversation is presented in an untraditional fashion. The content of the conversation is lost somewhat as the viewer struggles to establish the spatial relationship between the two characters.

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[35] Vance Kepley, Jr., "Dovzhenko and Montage: Issues of Style and Narration in the Silent Films," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19.1 (1994), 36.

[36] David Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 118.

Arsenal may also serve as an example of departure from the traditional use of dialogue titles. The fictional world of *Arsenal* contains unexpected fantastic elements created through the use of dialogue titles. Dovzhenko extends his use of folkloric devices—begun with expository titles in the story of the mother of three sons—by employing a common element found in fairy tales: speaking animals. Although in the story of *Arsenal* animals remain in the background and do not assume human characteristics, Dovzhenko's horses express their opinions. The gift of speech, which the horses acquire through dialogue titles, is part of *Arsenal*'s fictional world and does not surprise anyone within the film's diegesis. In fact, a certain ambiguity is created by using such titles. Like other dialogue titles, the animals' speech is set off through the inclusion of quotation marks. Unlike other dialogue titles within the film, these are italicized. Only one other title in *Arsenal* is set apart in this fashion: Tymish's recollection of an answer given by him to an officer. If italic script marks a character's thoughts, the horses in the film do not speak. Rather, they think and cannot be heard by the humans around them. Yet this is not the impression of the average viewer. These titles are too sporadic and too far apart for the viewer to distinguish between spoken words and thoughts. It is very likely that they were perceived as spoken words and came as a surprise to the viewer.

There is further evidence to suggest that the italicized dialogue was perceived as direct speech rather than as thought. In both instances when the horses speak (think) direct speech is used. At the beginning of the film an abused horse turns his head and points to the futility of his master's actions: "*You are wasting your blows on me, old man! I'm not what you need to strike at!*" (A: 64). This calm, logical and clever line, spoken by a horse, is the culmination of two simultaneous-action montage sequences: in one a desperate mother beats her hungry children and in the other an invalid beats a horse (A: 40-70). Dovzhenko could very well have employed an alternative and more realistic choice to resolve the sequence: this same line could have been spoken by the abused children. In granting speech to the horse, Dovzhenko creates a stronger and more memorable scene which underlines the importance of the social commentary he is making.

This unexpected turn to the fantastic not only resolves the sequence but also suggests the course the film will take. Ironically, the need for social revolution is first expressed by a horse. Dovzhenko, in somewhat comic fashion departs from Marxist ideology as it was traditionally represented by his Russian colleagues.

In the films of Eisenstein and Pudovkin revolutionary activities are generated by the despair brought on by poor economic conditions. Such activities are tormented by the proselytizing of Marxist agents among the workers. *Arsenal* does depict economic conditions and despair. But the education of the workers is conspicuously absent from this film: the need to strike is introduced as a natural process of self-realization, one unmediated by the agency of Marxist teachers. Represented by the talking horse, nature is given the status of ideological education. Revolutionary ideology, as understood by Dovzhenko, is something so obvious and natural that even horses can express it. This device, of course, does not suggest that Ukrainian horses have long known what Karl Marx put into writing, but rather attest to the fact that nature frequently governs Dovzhenko's fictional worlds.

In the second instance horses respond to their masters. Pulling a cart to which a body of a dead soldier has been strapped, a group of galloping horses speak to the soldiers who are driving. This fast paced sequence, shot with a tracking camera, includes shots of the horses' legs, hoofs striking the frozen ground, and shots of their steaming nostrils. While the sequence adds little in terms of the film's plot, it gives speed to the film. The soldiers are determined to deliver the dead soldier's body to his home village and call out to the horses: "Come on horses - our steeds of war!" and "Hasten to bury our comrade!" (A: 774 and

A: 779). These two dialogue titles are followed by five titles representing the responses of the horses:

> *"Revolution!"*
> *"We feel it in the air!"*
> *"Yes, masters - we sense it!"*
> *"We are flying with all the speed - "*
> *"- of our twenty-four legs"*

The speed and the rhythm of the sequence, punctuated by the titles, has little to do with the solemn funeral procession it represents. The soldiers deliver the body to the site of a freshly dug grave where the soldier's mother stands alone and motionless. The contrast between the rhythm of the horseback procession and the static images of the mother set against the blackness of the mound of soil next to the grave conveys two opposing responses to death. Whereas the occasion is solemn and mournful for the woman, it is an everyday occurrence in the soldiers' lives. The words uttered by the horses are, in fact, the strongest and the most enthusiastic verbal support for the revolution in the entire film.

Like his expository titles Dovzhenko's dialogue titles differ markedly from one film to the next within the trilogy. In my opinion, these changes reflect Dovzhenko's increasingly strong understanding of the film medium and a crystallization of his ideas on cinema. One should bear in mind that barely four years passed between his first cinematic project during the summer of 1926 and the premiere of *Zemlia* in the spring of 1930. While "*Zvenyhora* was a catalogue of all [his] creative abilities,"[37] *Zemlia* was the film of a mature artist. This evolution manifests itself not only in the abandonment of expository titles in *Zemlia* but also through a new functional understanding of dialogue titles. From a merely auxiliary narrative role in *Zvenyhora*, the latter evolve into a rhythmic "poetic" language in *Zemlia*. *Arsenal* encompasses both approaches. To be sure, the symbiosis of both functions is present in all three films; however, the dominant function shifts from film to film.

The poetic use of language, as defined by the Formalists, is independent from its practical application, which serves merely as a means of communication. Leo Jakubinsky conceived poetic language as a separate linguistic system:

> systems in which the practical purpose is in the background (although perhaps not entirely hidden) are conceivable; they exist and their linguistic patterns acquire *independent value*.[38]

Many dialogue titles in Dovzhenko's trilogy are used in such a poetic sense. Their communicative value is negligible and often nil; they seem to exist purely for their sonic and visual qualities.

Consider, for example, the repetitions of a single dialogue line. "The Revolution is in danger!" appears three times in *Zvenyhora* (Z: 691, 697, 725). Its communicative function may be apprehended when first seen after a low-angle shot of an officer speaking. In the second instance the title is framed by a high-angle shot of a fight breaking out among soldiers in a crowd. This time the title acts as a warning and implies that the soldiers' behaviour may endanger the revolution. The line may be attributed to the officer in the scene even though the title is not explicitly linked to him. This very title is repeated for the third time some twenty shots later in the middle of a seemingly unrelated sequence. Thus the title may, in the viewer's mind, echo the officer's speech, although, once again there is no visual cue to identify the speaker. This example shows how Dovzhenko moves from the communicative or practical use of a title to its abstract, poetic deployment during which the title is not linked to a specific character but creates tension with its "sound."

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[37] Dovzhenko, "Autobiography," trans. Marco Carynnyk, *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19, no. 1 (1994), 19.

[38] Quoted in Boris Eichenbaum, "The Theory of the 'Formal Method'" in *Russian Formalist Criticism: Four Essays*, ed. and trans. Lee T. Lemon and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 108.

The poetic use of dialogue titles may be illustrated through a comparison with Soviet Futurist poetry of the time, particularly the works of Vladimir Mayakovsky, whose influence on film technique is well documented.[39] Although Mayakovsky wrote screenplays for VUFKU, the Futurist influence on

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[39] See, for example, Vlada Petrić, *Constructivism in Film: The Man with the Movie Camera: A Cinematic Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 25-48.

Dovzhenko came from a more direct source—the Ukrainian Futurists, with whom he was closely associated himself, and who strongly influenced the development of film industry in Ukraine.[40] Elements borrowed from Futurist poetics in dialogue titles include the rhythmic repetitions of complete lines and the splitting of lines of dialogue into several intertitles, a technique which served to emphasize single words in a title.

Examples of line repetition like the example just drawn from *Zvenyhora* are present in all of Dovzhenko's films. Some lines are repeated as many as six times and, often, are enhanced by another Futurist device—the use of various sizes of typefaces which draw attention to the graphic qualities of the printed word. The question "Aren't you going to carry us?"—posed three times to a train engineer in *Arsenal*—is printed in larger typeface each time it appears on the screen (A: 138, 140, 142).[41] While the content remains constant, the larger print signifies a raised tone of voice, the anger and impatience of the soldiers who are asking the question. Incidentally, this technique was quite common in avant-garde films of the Soviet Union and France.

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[40] Ukrainian Futurists' fascination with cinema was reflected in their experimental literary works which borrowed from formal cinematic devices, including intertitles. See, for example, Leonid Skrypnyk, *Intelihent* (Kharkiv: Proletarii, 1929) and Favst Lopatynsky "Dynamo: kinostsenarii," *Nova generatsiia* no. 7 (1928), 8-21. For an overview of the Futurist movement in Ukraine see Oleh S. Ilnytzkyj, *Ukrainian Futurism 1914-1930: An Historical and Critical Study*, Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1995).

[41] The relationship between letter size and the sonic qualities of the titles was also promptly recognized by Hollywood. "[M]any silent films have small letters to suggest whispers and large ones for shouts." Bordwell, Steiger and Thompson, 188.

The same can be said about the splitting of dialogue lines into several titles. *Zemlia* contains several such titles, the splitting of which brings attention to their syntax: "We'll / prosper / with tractors" (E: 388-390); "Did / you / kill / my [Vasyl]?" (E: 671-674); and "But he / was walking / down the lane / and dancing" (E: 921-923, 925). Such splitting forces viewers to wait for the next portion of the line and mentally retain the previous phrases. The process may be compared to the technique of enjambement in poetry.

These examples of the manner in which Dovzhenko treats dialogue titles illustrate the most representative traits of his films. The tendency to divorce title use from its communicative function allows for more abstract, "poetic" usage. It is best understood by viewing titles as montage elements and analyzing them in relation to other visual elements within his films.

4c. Montage Titles

The classification of extradiegetic titles into expository and dialogue titles is unsatisfactory when analyzing complex films like those of Dovzhenko's trilogy. "Intertitles are treated today, almost without exception, only on the basis of their content meaning"—Skrypnyk complained in 1928.[42] Little has changed after the Ukrainian theoretician made his statement. Once titles are treated as montage shots, the need for a third category becomes obvious. For this reason, I wish to introduce a category of titles which I designate *montage intertitles*. Their primary function is neither expository nor dialogue. Rather it is determined by the relationship of titles to the montage shots that precede or follow them. *Montage intertitles* belong to a "fuzzy set" whose elements may also belong to other sets such as those already described. This category encompasses titles the main function of which is not overtly semantic but visual.

The use of montage intertitles, while present in the classical Hollywood cinema, is most apparent in the avant-garde movements of the 1920s, particularly the Soviet and French avant-garde cinemas. This category is particularly useful in light of the montage theories of the 1920s which manifested themselves in the films of the period. Because film titles were viewed as *montage shots*, their properties were defined similarly to the properties of regular shots. Inasmuch as montage was perceived the most important part of film making, Soviet filmmakers stopped treating intertitles as auxiliary elements. They used them instead as shots equivalent in form and content to other shots. Thus, intertitles assumed significance as elements essential to the creation of the visual rhythm of the film sequence and of the whole film.

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[42] Skrypnyk, 75.

Film theoreticians discovered the visual parameters of intertitles together with filmmakers. Voznesenskii claims that, beside their explanatory function, intertitles function as "visual pauses" in the viewing process. As an example, he cites his experimental film, *Slezy* (Tears, 1912), which did not contain any intertitles. Although the narrative could be followed without the inclusion of intertitles, Voznesenskii concluded that the audience was tired by the constant movement on screen and longed for visual breaks. He subsequently inserted titles which were not essential to the film's story but which provided the required pauses and purportedly improved the film.[43]

Jean Epstein reached a similar conclusion in 1924. Arguing against films without intertitles he wrote:

> Looking at a film completely without titles is undeniably depressing, for psychological reasons; the subtitle is first of all a rest for the eye, a punctuation mark for the mind.... Isn't advertising a film as having no subtitles like praising Mallarmé's poems because they do not have punctuation?[44]

We do not know enough about the viewing habits of early audiences to dismiss these claims. The viewing of modern TV and commercials might be construed in a similar manner. Admittedly, however, the motivation behind the inclusion of commercials is obviously commercial rather than aesthetic. Certain viewing patterns are learned by audiences and produce certain expectations.[45]

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[43] Voznesenskii, 69.

[44] Quoted in Sitney, 102.

Another use of *montage titles* creates certain visual patterns and, thus, establishes the required tempo and rhythm of a film. In *Zemlia*, when a tractor arrives in a village, Dovzhenko repeats the same titles several times. The titles are simple and read: "It's coming!," "It's here!" and "Let'er fly!" They are even shorter in Ukrainian, consisting of a single word. The titles are repeated six, five and three times respectively and, on one occasion, appear three times in a row. Intercut with shots of groups of people rushing to see something, the titles do not convey new information or advance the film's plot. Rather, they create expectation and convey the excitement of the characters in the film. All this occurs before the object of their excitement is shown in its full glory. The main function of these titles is neither expository nor dialogue. They are closely linked to the shots of the sequence and their function can be established as part of the cluster of shots.

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[45] An opposite tendency can be observed in recent changes to the presentation of news on TV in which static images or pauses on the screen are avoided: those reading the news walk or move, or the camera moves. This dynamic may also occur from changing backgrounds behind news anchors. This suggests that today constant movement guarantees undivided attention and that modern viewers do not need visual breaks as audiences some seventy years ago did.

The scene of the crowd waiting for the tractor is intercut with a parallel scene in the local communist party office, the main theme of which is waiting. To match the rhythm of this scene with the one described above Dovzhenko uses dialogue titles as an element of montage. The party secretary talks on the phone and struggles over a bad connection. He repeats "I'm listening!" four times. Interestingly, the pace of these titles matches the tempo and rhythm set by the titles in the tractor sequence. By using a structure paralleled in form through the use of titles, Dovzhenko was able to control the tempo and the rhythm of this section of the film. The titles are rendered meaningless through repetition. Their function in the communication process can be described as "phatic," that is, maintaining the process of communication alive. This is, however, of minimal importance for the film as a whole; the main function of the titles is predominantly compositional. In other words, the film story could do without them but they are essential for the film's structure.

My examples of categories of montage titles are not exhaustive. Unfortunately, the issues of tempo and rhythm in cinema have also received very little attention in film scholarship. Methods of measuring them and accounting for them have not yet been developed. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to define at the present time the role intertitles play in establishing a desirable tempo and rhythm in silent cinema. This whole area is still largely unexplored.[46]

4d. Diegetic or Epistolary Titles

The epistolary form of diegetic titles was the most often used (and abused) form of diegetic titles. In the 1910s, critics already complained that characters in films did nothing but write letters. By the 1920s the use of letters was considered a cliche to be avoided by self-respecting film directors. A critic wrote in 1924: "The most popular, often bluntly employed and thus annoying method of expression on the screen is 'a letter'."[47]

There are several instances of Dovzhenko's use of letters in the triptych. However, Dovzhenko contravenes the cinematic tradition of using letters as instances of the diegetic use of the printed word. The fictional worlds of Dovzhenko's films are populated by peasants and workers, for whom the written word is not a means of communication. When letters do appear, they are either being dictated or read by intermediaries who have mastered the art of reading and writing. They appear on the screen as dialogue titles rather than as letters. In this manner Dovzhenko, on the one hand, avoids cinematographic cliche, and, on the other, achieves an interesting effect in characterization. The consistency of his approach suggests an intentional usage of this device throughout his films.

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[46] A good starting point for the examination of tempo and rhythm would be the works of lesser known Formalist theoreticians.

[47] Voznesenskii, 70.

The only instance of a diegetic, handwritten letter (in *Arsenal*) also serves as a characterizing element. The letter is written by Tsar Nicholas II. But, in the new cinema that Dovzhenko sought to create, the Tsar, like the letter that characterizes him, does not belong to the fictional world of workers and peasants. The context in which the Tsar's letter is used in the film has significance for characterization that occurs along class lines in *Arsenal*. The act of writing and the text of the Tsar's letter sharply contrast with the two scenes that immediately follow. The scenes are not spatially related and the relationship among the three episodes is not clearly established. The Tsar writing a letter, a man beating his horse, and a woman beating her children—all take place in different locations and the characters involved never meet. In fact, this is their only appearance in the film. Why then would Dovzhenko include the three scenes at the beginning of *Arsenal*?

First of all, they are part of the narrative strategy of aborted film beginnings discussed above as expository titles. Secondly, they are part of characterization which cannot be understood in terms of Hollywood or other Western traditions. The Tsar, the man and the woman are not individuals but representatives of their respective estate. Linked through an outdated cinematic cliche of the pre-revolutionary cinema, the Tsar and his class are portrayed as narrow minded and indifferent. The content of the letter: "Today I shot a crow - splendid weather" is in sharp contrast with the hopelessness and anger expressed by the man and the woman whose feelings of despair result in the abuse of innocent children and animals. The Tsar's indifference and boredom become the subject of his writings. Both the Tsar and the peasants express their feelings in the manner they know best: through writing and violence respectively.

There are two additional examples of letter writing in *Arsenal*. Both avoid the use of the diegetic written word, a standard cinematic device of the time which would have been expected by audiences. For reasons explained above Dovzhenko prefers letters to be dictated or read by characters and conveyed to the audience in the form of extradiegetic dialogue titles. What effect does Dovzhenko achieve by departing from standard practices and by trying this new strategy?

This question can be answered only through the examination of the letter's content in relation to the context in which it appears. The letter is part of a powerful pacifist message Dovzhenko's film tries to convey. The same sentence, with minor modifications, is repeated three times in the film in different contexts. The sentence assumes the function of a verbal leitmotif; however, its effect on the audience is not achieved through repetition but through contextual differences. Initially the question "And will it be all right to kill officers and bourgeois in the streets if we find any?" (A: 416) is asked during a political convention. An anonymous soldier in a back row shyly raises his hand, and when permitted, asks the question. The scene is filmed in a long shot. The soldier is one of many similarly dressed men in the audience and his face cannot be seen. The question is not answered by anyone at the presiding table. Reactions to the question are shown through a series of close-ups of people's faces. Their expressions range from the uneasy and polite smiles of the men at the presiding table to the laughter of the audience members. The question seems to be out of context, irrelevant to the ongoing political debate, and most importantly, naive. It is likely that the question appeared as such and was dismissed by many in Dovzhenko's audience.

The question reappears at the end of the film but its significance differs. The line is being dictated to a nurse by a dying soldier (A: 701). There is no cue to indicate that it is the same soldier who asked the question previously. Although we see the soldier's head in a close-up, his facial features are indistinguishable because his head is bandaged.

As in the first instance the question is posed by an unimportant character in the film's story, as part of a letter to be sent to the soldier's family. An archaic form of address in the written letter reveals the soldier's rural origins.

By the time the dictation is over the soldier dies. The nurse who was writing the letter stands up and faces the camera. Speaking directly to the viewer the nurse reads the letter, which appears on the screen as two dialogue titles (A: 713, 715). In the mainstream cinema of the time characters did not often speak directly to audience because, just as today, this technique makes the audience uneasy.[48] Apparently Dovzhenko wanted the viewer to feel uneasy about the difficult moral question posed by the dying soldier. When the nurse reads: "Before all of you I bow to the very ground!" "I ask you—all of you—is it all right to kill officers and bourgeois in the street if I find any?" the viewers have no doubt that the question is intended for them. The viewer thus becomes involved in the moral dilemma, which no longer seems naive. Dovzhenko demands that the viewer answer or at least consider the question. Had Dovzhenko opted for a traditional epistolary title this effect would have been lost.

Epistolary titles are used by Dovzhenko very carefully.

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[48] Bordwell notes about the classical Hollywood films: "Yet complete frontality—e.g., direct address to the camera—is rare; a modified frontality requires that a wedge be driven into the space, opening up the best sightlines." Bordwell, Steiger and Thompson, 52.

They are used in his trilogy only once to characterize a social class associated with letter writing rather than to reveal content significant to plot development. In general, Dovzhenko preferred to show letters in a non-traditional fashion as dialogue titles, thus endowing them with greater expressive possibilities. For Dovzhenko, the face of an individual reading a letter had greater impact than the handwritten text of a letter.

5. Intertitles within a Film Sequence

The typology of intertitles only partially describes their function within the film's narrative. The position of a title within a film's sequence (scene) and its relationship to a shot also play an important role in the development of film narratology and, consequently, its poetics. Initially, at the beginning of this century, an expository title or several such titles were placed at the beginning of each scene. The titles explained what would happen in the scene to follow. As a rule, the scene consisted of a single shot. This placement of intertitles can be compared to the chapter headings and sub-headings of nineteenth century novels. The purpose of the latter was to explain the major events contained in each chapter. Early cinematic use of such titles worked against cinematic dramaturgy. Often, the content of the shot was revealed and warnings about characters issued. Suspense was certainly not a priority.

With the introduction of dialogue intertitles the situation changed somewhat. Initially, these were also placed at the beginning or at the end of each scene, as the scene itself was considered indivisible. By the mid 1910s, dialogue titles were placed to match characters' lines. Lip movement of characters was an important cue for the appearance of dialogue titles. The accepted norm during the late 1920s was to frame dialogue titles by a medium shot of a character speaking. This bracketing device did not exist for expository titles. Instead they were commonly distinguished by fades and, thus, were separate from the diegetic world of the characters.[49]

Dovzhenko adheres to the norms of title placement observed by the silent film of the late 1920s. His expository titles, often framed by dissolves or fades, are placed before the scene where they indicate the subject, place or time of the scene to follow, or serve as a transition between two scenes. Dialogue titles are most often used by Dovzhenko to clearly indicate who delivers each line. The aforementioned repeated dialogue titles constitute an exception to this rule: in such cases speakers often originate from within a crowd. The lip movement can be attributed to several characters in several shots and the dialogue title seems to represent only the most important statements. Unlike the "talkies," silent

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[49] Hamand, 232.

films were at liberty to translate into intertitles only segments of characters' speech.

Although Dovzhenko's dialogue titles consistently follow a medium shot or a closeup of a speaker, they are not framed by them. Often, after the title Dovzhenko does not return to the speaker but cuts to another speaker or chooses to show the silent reactions to a character's words. This technique, often combined with Dovzhenko's peculiar use of space, creates a certain narrative ambiguity. The conversation between Vasyl and Opanas cited above may serve as an example of this. A scene at the beginning of *Zemlia* illustrates this technique even better. It consists of a number of medium shots and closeups of people speaking. The shots of the speakers are appropriately followed by dialogue titles. Through camera angels and eye-lines, the illusion is created that the group surrounds a dying man lying on the ground. Nonetheless, the spatial relationship among the characters is never revealed. Through dialogue titles the viewer is cued to believe that the characters share a common space and that they are talking to one another. The viewer knows who speaks, but he cannot be certain who is listening.

6. The Distribution of Intertitles Within Films

As montage shots, titles had to follow the rules of montage and the rules of film's dramatic structure. Pudovkin, for example, paid special attention to the distribution of titles within a film. He praised American films for their concentration of expository titles at the beginning and for the introduction of dialogue titles as a film's tempo increased. Towards a film's climax titles became less frequent and were abandoned altogether at the film's climax. This sharpened the focus on a film's action, and allowed the achievement of a fast tempo.[50]

Leonid Skrypnyk, on the other hand, did not frequently base his opinions on Hollywood style. He believed that the distribution of titles within a film should follow a film's literary content, that is a film's story. Unlike Pudovkin, he did not see the necessity of structuring a film's story according to Hollywood formulae. But he did consider a film's tempo as the element ultimately governing the use of intertitles.

Dovzhenko's silent films do not follow the Hollywood model of dramatic structure. With plots loosely structured around leading characters, Dovzhenko's films have an episodic structure. His titles are designed to satisfy the narrative function of a given episode. Dovzhenko, of course, observes the general rule that fast sequences should not be interrupted by intertitles. Two sequences which have a minimal relationship with the plot of their respective films may serve as examples. The industrialization sequence from *Zvenyhora* attempts to prove that the real treasures of Ukraine are its resources and people and that the future belongs to technological progress. The sequence has no intertitles and no direct relationship to the plot of *Zvenyhora*. It consists of a rhythmically edited progression of shots depicting factories, mines, construction sites and machines at work. A similar fascination with machines appears in *Zemlia*, where a sequence shows the mechanized process of agricultural work culminating in bread baking. Again, the movement of machine parts and of people and the lack of intertitles give the sequence its desired rhythm and speed. Although both sequences are fast paced, they cannot be considered climatic for their respective films because they are almost extradiegetic and hardly concern the film plots.

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[50] Pudovkin, 62. Pudovkin elaborates on a point made earlier by Timoshenko. See Timoshenko, 72.

Generally speaking, the distribution of intertitles throughout Dovzhenko's films does not follow a pre-set formula and is highly irregular. The presence or absence of intertitles is determined by the rhythm and tempo of a given sequence rather than the sequence's place in the structure of a film.

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The identification of film intertitles as a purely literary element that deprives cinema of its visual power needs to be revised. Intertitles came to cinema as a part of the audio-visual presentation that cinema had always been. They replaced the human voice of a lecturer and actors. In turn, they were replaced by the human voice during the sound era. In the meantime, however, intertitles acquired different cinematographic functions. As my discussion of early Soviet film theory has sought to illustrate, it is necessary to view intertitles as a function of montage if one is to fully understand their intent and impact. The category of "montage titles" accounts for a wide range of titles that functioned well beyond their literary semantic role and became an important factor in the development of film poetics.

Dovzhenko's use of intertitles in his silent films followed avant-garde rather than mainstream trends. His titles, especially dialogue and montage ones, went beyond the semantic aspect of written words and explored their visual and sonic possibilities. The contribution of intertitles to the notion of "poetic cinema" can be best understood in Formalist terms. By bringing attention to titles as devices in the rhythmic composition of films Dovzhenko contests their everyday, "practical" deployment.

IV. Montage of Attractions, or the Attraction to Montage?

Photographic images and intertitles need to be joined together to form a silent film. Soviet filmmakers paid unparalleled attention to this process in the 1920s, and thereafter the term *montage* entered film scholarship. For this reason, Soviet cinema of the 1920s is often designated as the *montage tradition*.

The term, however, requires some clarification. In Ukrainian and Russian "montazh" denotes "editing" and is understood as such in texts of the period. Film scholarship, on the other hand, has adopted the term to describe a particular, rapidly-paced type of editing. Consequently, the reader of a Ukrainian or Russian text understands montage as editing, whereas the reader of an English translation of this very text understands a certain type of editing. Stephen P. Hill explains these linguistic differences:

> The Russian word for "editing" a film (in jargon, "cutting") is *montaž*, and the "editor" (or "cutter") is the *montažër*; his assistant (always female in the USSR) is the *montažnica*. As is well known, the word *montaž*, thanks to the theories of Kulešov and their applications by Pudovkin and Ejzenštejn in the 1920's, has been borrowed into English to designate a sequence of fast, impressionistic, "psychological" images (which in Russian would be a form of *kombinirovanye s"ëmki*), thus constituting a considerable narrowing of its Russian (and originally French) meaning of "editing

in general."[1]

To confuse the issue further, the type of editing labelled as "Russian montage" in America was called "American montage" in Soviet Russia of the 1920s. Instead of attempting to resolve this linguistic and cultural problem I use the term montage as it was understood in Ukraine in the 1920s, that is, as editing, including the particular variation commonly known (in English) as "montage."

Theories of montage originated with those practitioners of the cinema who became theoreticians. In contemporary scholarship two main tendencies can be distinguished: 1) Pudovkin's and Kuleshov's narrative use of montage; and 2) Eisenstein's and Vertov's metaphorical, rhetorical usage.[2] The assumption that these divergent theories reflect the theoretical realities of the 1920s is erroneous. In fact, the theoretical split is more characteristic of the 1930s.[3]

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[1] Steven P. Hill, "Russian Film Terminology," *The Slavic and East European Journal* 12.2 (1968), 199-205. (The journal uses the linguistic system of transliteration from Cyrillic alphabets)

[2] See David Bordwell, "The Idea of Montage in Soviet Art and Film," *Cinema Journal* 11:2 (1972), 10.

[3] In an attempt to prove that his films were more revolutionary than Pudovkin's, Eisenstein developed a system of dialectics—framing his aesthetics in terminology borrowed from Marxism—and argued that his shots were joined based on the collision principle while Pudovkin's films were more traditional "brick-by-brick" constructs. See his 1929 article, "Beyond the Shot," in S. M. Eisenstein, *Selected Works* vol. 1, trans. and ed. Richard Taylor (London: BFI, 1988), 138-50.

Contemporary critics saw both Pudovkin and Eisenstein as representatives of an avant-garde trend in cinema that made creative use of montage principles. Both of these artists, however, used montage more inventively than the more traditional artists of the NEP era and, thus, the critics set them apart. When Dovzhenko began making films his models included several films in the Pudovkin/Eisenstein tradition and a great number of films reflecting narrative standards of the film industry worldwide.[4] The principles of montage in theatre, the fine arts and literature were well-known, especially as an element of Cubist and Futurist aesthetics.[5] Dovzhenko's German training and his association with modernist groups in Ukraine (as outlined in Chapter I) had exposed him to such ideas. Dziga Vertov's association with VUFKU also coincides with the production of Dovzhenko's trilogy.[6]

To categorize Dovzhenko's montage technique in terms of either Pudovkin/Kuleshov or Eisenstein/Vertov would, however, be difficult. The absence of significant writings on this subject by Dovzhenko does not make the task easier. I propose to analyze Dovzhenko's montage in light of Skrypnyk's theoretical writings. Unlike other writers, who rarely ventured beyond the montage of film sequences, Skrypnyk discusses the importance of montage in the context of entire films.

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[4] See Denise J. Youngblood, *Soviet Cinema in the Silent Era 1918-1935* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991); idem, *Movies for the Masses: Popular Cinema and the Soviet Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[5] See Bordwell, "The Idea of Montage..."

[6] It is not known whether Vertov and Dovzhenko directly influenced each other while working at the same studio during the late 1920s. It should be noted, however, that Vertov's best films were made in Ukraine. At that time Vertov, who ran into trouble with Moscow's film establishment, was offered relative creative freedom at the VUFKU studio in Odessa. His *Odynadtsiatyi* (*The Eleventh Year,* 1928) and *Liudyna z kinoaparatom* (*The Man with a Movie Camera,* 1929) were Ukrainian productions.

For Skrypnyk, visual attractions are the elements of montage and montage is the most important device in the creation of a film. Skrypnyk's definition of montage takes into consideration the effect of the entire film on the viewer. Montage for him is the organization of the viewer's emotions. He writes:

> Montage is the organization of material of visual influence (visual attractions) on the spectator created during shooting. The purpose of montage is to compel the viewer to perceive the entire film as a whole with the goal of creating a certain conception of all that has been viewed by experiencing desired emotions. [These emotions are] characterized by a given content and force, in a given order, and during given intervals of time.[7]

Instead of identifying particular montage devices, as had been done by Timoshenko, or Arnheim was to do later,[8] Skrypnyk proposes *montage lines* that consist of various elements and assume certain roles and significance within a film. He distinguishes seven montage lines along which montage may operate, with the caveat that his list is by no means exhaustive. Each montage line can be represented as a curve or a line on an imaginary graph and represented as a function of time.[9]

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[7] Leonid Skrypnyk, *Narysy z teorii mystetstva kino* (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo Ukrainy, 1928), 65.

[8] Timoshenko lists fifteen montage techniques. See S. Timoshenko, *Iskusstvo kino i montazh fil'ma* (Leningrad: Academia, 1926), 26-60. Using Timoshenko's and Pudovkin's typologies Rudolf Arnheim proposed his "Principles of Montage"

In my analysis I focus on three montage lines proposed by Skrypnyk. What he terms "montage along 'literary content'" forms a large part of this chapter. A second section groups two of his montage lines dealing with the "tempo" and "rhythm" in films[10] and which are an important component of poetic

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in 1932. See his *Film as Art* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), 94-98.

[9] For a brief outline of Skrypnyk's montage lines see my "The Theoretical Past of Cinema: Introducing Ukrainian Film Theory of the 1920s," *Film Criticism* 20.1-2 (1995-96), 72-75.

[10] The other four montage lines are: 1) *Montage along "acting"* establishes the necessary length of a montage shot and ensures that it is long enough for the viewer to be able to perceive it and bring it to a required level of completeness. Acting in each shot is represented by a curve. The beginning and the end of the curve should be closely monitored in relation to the beginnings and the ends of the curves in neighbouring shots. The continuity of the curve from shot to shot or deviations from this continuity produce meanings desired by the filmmaker. Skrypnyk illustrates montage along the "acting" line with the following example: Shot 1: A man walks along the street (straight parallel line). He sees something and his face expresses interest (a curve slopes upwards). When he is certain that he is approaching a good acquaintance of his, the man expresses joy (the curve reaches its maximum height). Shot 2: Another man's facial expression matches that of the first one. (The curve of the second shot begins at exactly the same point where the first

cinema. I have called these elements "rhythmic composition."

1. The Organization of Films' Literary Content

The "literary content" line is the principal montage line in a film and is supported by all other cinematic devices.

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shot ended.) The viewer perceives the scene as a meeting of two people who know each other. The scene would be perceived differently if the lines of the two shots did not match. If the beginning point of the second shot were below the first one and the curve was not going up, the scene would indicate a different relationship between the two men. 2) *Montage along the "movement of actors and objects"* concerns itself with the direction of movement in neighbouring shots producing either continuity in montage or stressing the opposition between movements to mark the corresponding antagonism in content. This line of montage should be governed by content and be tied organically to montage along "acting" and "tempo" lines. Skrypnyk does not share Eisenstein's notion of dialectical montage, through which opposing directions of movement are synthesized to produce a new meaning. He permits any kind of montage of movements as long as it relates to the scene's content. For example, Skrypnyk criticized Pudovkin for introducing movements in opposition in the spring river scene in *Mother*. According to Skrypnyk, the opposing directions of flowing water and marching workers reduce the associative power of the scene. 3) *Montage along the "formal composition of the frame"* has received much attention from other theoreticians. Such elements as camera angle, point of view, lens usage and lighting are used in order to distinguish details within the frame, direct the viewer's attention to or comment on the content of the frame. Contrasting such elements is the most popular technique of montage used in conjunction with the montage of content. For example, differences in the personalities or social origins of a film's characters can be stressed by consistent high and low camera angles. Skrypnyk also points out compositional elements, such as lines, planes and masses within the frame and their importance for montage. Some of these issues have been addressed in Chapter II. 4) *Montage of "intertitles:"* Skrypnyk considered intertitles montage elements. Intertitles should not disrupt or break the tempo and the rhythm of montage but should be part of it, since each title has its footage and functions in time. Some of these issues have already been addressed in Chapter III.

Skrypnyk refers to this montage line as a *manifestation of the viewer's conscious attention*. This montage line is established before the film's shooting, during the screen-writing process. It is the only montage line that follows literary and dramatic principles. This line of montage can be represented on an imaginary graph as a curve parallel to the curve of the film's dramatic content. Other lines of montage cannot be distinguished from the script but depend on the creativity of the film's director. They indicate *the directions of emotional sensations* to be perceived by the viewer.

Skrypnyk's view of the montage of the entire film deserves more detailed attention. In today's terminology, his discussion of the temporal ordering of events and the impact of this ordering on the viewer's comprehension of the story fall within the domain of narratology. As a branch of literary studies narratology has made significant advances in the past several decades, but it only had its beginnings during the 1920s. Formalist works on the subject began to appear at about the same time as Skrypnyk's theories.[11] Therefore, if the narrative line of a film was considered the principal form of film montage, to which other kinds of montage were subordinated, a discussion of montage logically begins with narrative. Such an approach seems to be particularly appropriate to Dovzhenko's films, whose stories were described as "hard to follow" on many occasions.[12]

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[11] The seminal work that influenced modern narratology, Vladimir Propp's *Morfologiia skazki*, was published in 1928.

Such difficulties can be of two kinds: *syntactic* and *semantic*. Syntactic difficulties usually result from the intricacies in the mode of narration that was often adopted by Soviet cinema of the 1920s, and which David Bordwell calls *historical-materialist narration*. Consciously defying the continuity of the classical Hollywood style, Soviet filmmakers developed a style of their own. Although it differed from director to director, a set of common traits for this style can be described. The semantic ambiguities we often encounter in Dovzhenko's films can be resolved by exploring the frequently contradictory arguments his films attempt to make. These should be viewed from the perspective of a Ukrainian intellectual of the 1920s.

1a. Syntactic Difficulties

Scholarship on Soviet cinema provides us with a number of general observations regarding narration in films of the 1920s. David Bordwell's chapter on historical-materialist narration, deals with the subject in great detail and uses many examples from Dovzhenko's trilogy.[13] Bordwell argues that narration in Soviet films serves rhetorical ends. Films use simple and predictable stories to illustrate a Marxist or, more often, Bolshevik point of view in order to win over viewers. Bordwell writes:

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[12] See, for example, Vance Kepley, Jr., "Dovzhenko and Montage: Issues of Style and Narration in the Silent Films," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19.1 (1994), 30.

> Soviet cinema is explicitly tendentious, like the *roman à thèse*; the fabula world stands for a set of abstract propositions whose validity the film at once presupposes and reasserts.[14]

This observation is particularly appropriate in light of Soviet theoretical writings of the time. Directors and theoreticians did not hide the propagandistic nature of the films but often considered it crucial to filmmaking. Consider, for example, the aims of montage as explicitly expressed by Timoshenko:

> 1) *The seizure, organization and direction of the viewer*, his visual impressions and, hence, his emotions, aroused by these visual impressions. 2) *The concentration of the viewer's attention on the necessary* and the removal of the superfluous. 3) A purely physiological influence through the fast tempo of flashing individual montage frames—*a forcible drawing of the viewer's attention*.[15]

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[13] Bordwell, *Narration in the Fiction Film*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 234-73.

[14] Bordwell, *Narration*, 235. After the Formalists, Bordwell defines fabula, or story, as "a pattern which perceivers of narratives create through assumptions and inferences. It is the developing result of picking up narrative cues, applying schemata, framing and testing hypotheses." And syuzhet, or plot, is "the actual arrangement and presentation of the fabula in the film. It is not the text in toto" (*Narration*, 49-50).

[15] Timoshenko, 19 (emphasis in the original).

Thus montage was not the storytelling device, that editing was in Hollywood. Instead it was a rhetorical tool to exert control over the viewer's emotions.

Although Dovzhenko's films do not have the overtly didactic character found in the works of other directors; he does employ formal montage strategies and devices for rhetorical goals. I wish to demonstrate that the multiplicity of Dovzhenko's arguments blurs their overall didactic impact on the viewer and leaves room for multiple interpretations.

A number of devices distinguish the historical-materialist narration from the classical Hollywood model and from the European *art cinema* tradition. In my argument I will draw on the elaborations of various authors and illustrate the devices in question with examples drawn from Dovzhenko's trilogy.

The most universal characteristic of narration in the Soviet cinema of the 1920s is the overtness of the narration itself. As Bordwell suggests:

> [t]he didactic and poetic aspects of Soviet cinema meet in a technique which insists, both quantitatively and qualitatively, upon the constant and overt presence of narration.[16]

In contrast to the classical style, which kept narration "invisible" to the viewer, Soviet directors brought narration to the foreground of a film. This rendered the narration process *highly self-conscious*. Elements which in the classical style appear unmanipulated are subject to self-conscious manipulation. This self-consciousness of narration manifests itself, most of all, by attracting attention to frame composition. Dynamic camera angles, an abnormally high or low horizon line, slow and fast motion, extreme close ups, vignetting, and soft focus—all strive "to suggest a narrational presence behind the framing or filming of an event."[17] These external compositional devices, as discussed in Chapter II, play an important role in the self-conscious narration of Dovzhenko's films.

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[16] Bordwell, *Narration*, 238.

Cutting was the most prominent technique which brought attention to the narration process of Soviet cinema. Directors believed that "*not* cutting would change the syuzhet from a rhetorical construct into something (falsely) descriptive."[18] They aimed to build the diegetic world of their films in accordance with rhetorical needs and not for the sake of reconstructing reality. Spatial and temporal ambivalence distinguishes Soviet productions from the classical style, which guided viewers through space and time by creating the illusion of continuity. The prevalence of cutting in this process of self-conscious narration often led to more cuts than was required by the film's fabula. So-called

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[17] Bordwell, *Narration*, 237.

[18] Bordwell, *Narration*, 239.

"concentration cuts" broke a simple gesture or a transition between shots of different distances into a chain of jump-cuts. The sequence of the smashing of a plate in *Potemkin* is a frequently cited example of this phenomenon. In *Zemlia*, Dovzhenko marks a transition from a medium close-up to an extreme close-up of Opanas standing in a doorway in this very manner (E: 707-710).[19]

Spatiotemporal composition was most affected by cutting. Editing in classical cinema served to locate a character within the time and place of the story. Cutting was thus justified by the presence of a character in a new spatiotemporal setting. A transition from one shot to another had, in the classical model, a common element—usually the same human figure whose function was to provide continuity. This element is often missing in Soviet films. As Vance Kepley has shown, the transitions from one-shot to another in Dovzhenko's films are often motivated by graphic matches.[20] Therefore, similarities in shape—rather than concern for the fabula—justify many cuts. For example, in the scene depicting the conversation between father and son, the shapes of Vasyl's and Opanas' backs provide the only continuity cue for the viewer (E: 117-134). When sheaves of wheat stored in a field dissolve into rifles set in a similar pattern (Z: 253-254) there is no rational motivation for the arrangement of the rifles. The only similarity is the graphic pattern which cues the viewer to perceive the scene metaphorically as a transition from peace to war. By finding similarities between two unlikely objects Dovzhenko forces the viewer to extrapolate, to make a metaphorical leap. For a viewer accustomed to the classical model most disturbing in historical-materialist narration is the absence of establishing shots. The viewer is brought into a fragmented space without the convenience of being able to establish major reference points in that space. Bordwell writes that:

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[19] The effect of such a sequence can be compared to that of a fast zoom-in. Zoom lenses, however, were not used until the 1960s.

[20] Kepley, "Dovzhenko and Montage," 36-37.

> Soviet montage flaunts its spatiotemporal gaps and will not always plug them. The Soviet tendency to minimize or omit establishing shots asks the spectator to fill in the overall milieu.[21]

Very often a series of medium shots or close-ups reveal a fragmented space, but the relationship between the fragments is often left unexplained. As the conversation between Vasyl and Opanas unfolds, the viewer does not know for a long time whether the men are in the same room or whether they are facing each other. Although the viewer eventually receives cues confirming that the men are indeed in the same room their relationship to one another is never confirmed.[22]

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[21] Bordwell, *Narration*, 243.

[22] See Bordwell, *Narration*, 118.

When Dovzhenko uses what seem to be establishing shots the viewer quickly discovers that these shots do not necessarily function as might have been expected. The beginning of *Zemlia* is a case in point. Four shots of wheat swaying in the wind (E: 1-4) suggest that the film's action will take place there. The two shots that follow, a woman and a sunflower and a close-up of a sunflower, move the "action" to another location. A series of shots depicting apples suggest yet another change in location. The differences between the initial four shots produce a change in the horizon line, which rises with each consecutive shot. The only constant is the swaying rhythm of the wheat.[23] When characters are eventually introduced (E: 13), the viewer understands that they are probably in the orchard, i.e., not connected to the location initially "established." The shots do, however, establish the film's rhythm.

The omission of establishing shots often serves to misguide the viewer's comprehension of the film's fabula. In *Zemlia*, the transition from a sequence depicting grandfather Semén's death to a sequence depicting a "kulak" household is not marked by an obvious location change. The transition is possible, however, because in the former sequence the space had not been 'properly" established. Semén's death scene consists of a series of shots that depict one character at a time. The viewer's comprehension of the arrangement of people in the space is never confirmed; the positioning of characters is suggested only by the direction of their eyes. From these cues the viewer infers that Vasyl's family is standing in a circle, or a semi-circle, around grandfather Semén, who is lying amidst the apples on the ground. Cut-away shots suggest that two small children are also playing on the apple-covered ground in close proximity to the grandfather. There is nothing in the shots, however, to confirm this spatial composition.

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[23] See Kepley, "Dovzhenko and Montage," 34-35.

Therefore, when, after a brief fade out, a medium-shot of a crying woman appears on the screen (E: 81) the viewer deduces that the woman shares the space with the characters surrounding the grandfather. Furthermore, her lamenting is thematically in line with the preceding scene (E: 80). As the new scene of lament evolves the viewer realizes that Dovzhenko has introduced an entirely new set of characters at a new location—the interior of a house. After this new space has been established, Dovzhenko prolongs the ambiguity of the characters' actions: for some time (E: 81-100) the viewer continues to believe that the characters are distressed by Semén's death. When one of the characters reads from a newspaper (E: 103) the viewer realizes that these characters are not mourning the death of Semén but the loss of their property to collectivization. By omitting the establishing shot in the transition to a new location, Dovzhenko not only upsets spatial continuity but also suggests a thematic connection between the two sequences: the loss of property may be more disturbing for the peasants than the death of a family member.

The omission of establishing shots also produces false matches-on-action.[24] These occur when the viewer is led to believe that a scene is continuing when, in fact, a new scene has begun. The transition between scenes described above serves as an example of this technique. However, scenes involving the same character are more common. In *Zemlia*, Opanas speaks to a priest (E: 705-717) in the doorway of his house; later he speaks to party representatives seated at a table (E: 718-746). The transition between the scenes is not marked and Dovzhenko achieves the effect of false continuity through his deliberate use of shot/reverse-shot editing. During Opanas' conversation with the priest Dovzhenko establishes a cutting pattern which he continues at the new location. Therefore the first shot of the new scene (E: 718) is perceived as a reverse shot of the image of the priest (E: 717). The subsequent shot of men seated at a table (E: 719) comes as a surprise for the viewer.

The presence of so-called "montage sequences" in Dovzhenko's films cannot be merely attributed to the Soviet filmmaking tradition but must be seen within a broader

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[24] See Kepley, "Dovzhenko and Montage," 42.

European context. Barry Salt describes the "classical" montage sequence as "short shots joined by dissolves or other optical effects that are so close together that one transition starts shortly after the one before ends."[25] Sequences of this kind were fast becoming standard in German and French films of the 1920s. As Salt observes, "by 1926 even ordinary German films had to have a montage sequence."[26] The rapid sequence of close-up shots of soldiers in the firing squad executing Tymish (Z: 378-389) would be one of many such sequences in Dovzhenko's trilogy.

There are, however, two extended montage sequences in the films that stand on their own. The sequence of industrial progress in *Zvenyhora* (Z: 787-879) and the "bread making" sequence in *Zemlia* (E: 413-610) seem to be removed from their respective films' diegesis and exist for their own sake. The "solemn hymn of industrialization," as Iakiv Savchenko calls the former, consists of shots that are neither mediated by the presence of the film's characters nor by location. The scene's relationship to the film's world is suggested only through montage. It follows a scene in which Tymish studies at school in order to find "the true secrets of Zven[yh]ora - the secret of the riches of [...] Ukraine" (Z: 768). Therefore the montage sequence suggests that workers and farmers are the true treasures of Ukraine and that industrialization is the process that will modernize Ukraine.

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[25] Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* (London: Starword, 1983), 217

[26] Salt, 218

The "bread making" sequence begins as part of the film's diegesis with a shot of Vasyl driving a tractor and ploughing the soil. As the scene progresses the viewer realizes that the events take on a highly implausible character. The entire cycle from ploughing to bread baking happens "one sunny afternoon." There are no seasonal changes and the harvest seems to happen at the same time as the ploughing. Although shots of Opanas (E: 443, 446, 449, 451, 496, 503, 509, 515, 517) are intercut with shots of other people working, it is not clear whether they share a common space, or whether they belong to two parallel sequences: one of fantasy and one of reality. Dovzhenko provides cues which suggest that the sequence is Vasyl's fantasy. While showing a dough mixing machine he cuts to shots of a plough turning the soil (E: 584, 586, 595-597). Besides conveying the graphic similarities between the two actions the shots suggest that the ploughing is occurring simultaneously with the mixing. Additional clues that this scene is a fantasy are suggested by a curious character (a village teacher?) who first runs after Vasyl's tractor (E: 427, 429, 431, 433, 435, 437) and, later, is seen with Khoma as he is being told that Vasyl has ploughed up the fences (E: 611-620). This confirms that the sequence belongs primarily to the realm of the fantastic.

Soviet cinema of the 1920s made use of and developed crosscutting, or "parallel montage," as a basic rhetorical device. Crosscutting has been successfully used in cinema since 1906[27] and is most often associated with "last minute rescue" plots, in which two parallel sequences of actions come together in a film's happy conclusion. American cinema had also developed more sophisticated versions of this technique. D.W. Griffith, was a master of crosscutting, as is attested by *Intolerance* (1916). The potentialities of this device stem from its inherent capacity to draw marked comparisons.[28] Dovzhenko found crosscutting essential to his films. He used the device, with varying degrees of success and sophistication, in all three films.

Except for two historical sequences, *Zvenyhora* progresses in a linear fashion and contains only rather insignificant attempts at parallel action. For example, the section of the film depicting Tymish at school and Pavlo in exile contrasts the two characters. The final sequences of *Zvenyhora* are also constructed according to principles of parallel montage to produce a "last minute rescue." The unsuccessful attempt to bomb the train works in tandem with Pavlo's suicide to produce a happy ending. The crosscutting in *Zvenyhora* does not, however, effectively produce suspense or comparison. The latter would not be possible without the use of expository titles (Z: 765, 768).

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[27] Salt, 67.

[28] See Bordwell, *Narration*, 239.

Crosscutting in *Arsenal* is much more sophisticated. Most of the sequences in the film use crosscutting as a means of comparing or suggesting associations between the film's episodes. Sequences are based either on similarities or contrasts. Despair is expressed both by a handicapped man beating his horse and a woman beating her children (A: 40-70). The similar rhythm of their blows unites the two unrelated episodes taking place in different locations. The tsar writing a letter is juxtaposed with an old woman sower (A: 19-34); the triviality of the tsar's letter is contrasted with the hard labour essential to the woman's survival. These episodes are not connected to each other through a character, place or the film's fabula. Their presence in the film is purely associational. They are part of the film's introduction which paints a broad picture of social conditions in Ukraine at the end of the First World War.

Occasionally, the associational power of parallel sequences becomes more abstract and open to interpretation. A sequence of a laughing German soldier is crosscut with shots of a dead soldier partially buried in sand. The connection between the two episodes is not clear. We do not know whether the two soldiers inhabit the same space. We also do not know if the German soldier's laughter is a strange reaction to the sight of the dead body, or whether it is an indication of what is awaiting the laughing soldier. The sequences may suggest the effects of chemical warfare or the indifference that such warfare produces, or both. Such open composition contributes to the exceptional emotional strength that the image of the German soldier acquires (see Chapter II).

An interesting variation on parallel montage in *Arsenal* and *Zemlia* is the so-called *refrain device.*[29] Dovzhenko introduces a single shot—before or after the sequence of which it is a part—to an unrelated sequence of images. The shots of the soldiers described in the preceding paragraph appear again as part of unrelated sequences. The shot of the laughing soldier (A: 109) is inserted into the sequence of a silhouetted soldier and an officer (A: 89-111). The face buried in sand (A: 126) appears within a sequence of two soldiers fighting over a pair of boots at a train station (A: 112-127). A shot of a factory worker (A: 26) precedes the sequence to which it belongs by some six hundred shots. The shot of Opanas ploughing (E: 212) is inserted into the scene of grandfather Petro at a graveside. This shot seems to be related to similar shots that precede the sequence (E: 192, 196) and indicate simultaneous action. On the other hand, the shot may also intimate a metaphorical reading.[30]

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[29] Timoshenko describes the refrain device as a montage device in which the same shot is repeated several times throughout a film. The repetition is not a flashback nor a flash-forward but an element which binds various parts of the film together. Timoshenko, 50-51, cited in Bordwell, *Narration*, 249.

While parallel montage in *Arsenal* is usually restricted to short sequences and involves no more than two diegetic scenes,[31] *Zemlia* uses crosscutting throughout the entire film. Crosscutting in *Zemlia* is exceptionally well-developed and very advanced for its time. Douglas Gomery notes that "*Earth* ends with one of the longest and most elaborate examples of parallel montage in film history."[32] The structure of the film is based on the juxtaposition of sequences that develop in a linear fashion and parallel montage sequences. The following breakdown of *Zemlia* into sequences illustrates Dovzhenko's dependence on crosscutting. Parallel montage sequences are set in italics.

1. (1-80)	Grandfather Semén's death
2. (81-116)	Grieving in the wealthy farmer's household
3. (117-188)	Meeting at Vasyl's place
4. (189-213)	*In touch with the soil*
	a) Opanas ploughing
	b) Petro at Semén's grave
5. (214-409)	*Arrival of the tractor:*

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[30] See Kepley, "Dovzhenko and Montage," 41.

[31] Dovzhenko did not use non-diegetic inserts in crosscutting. Combinations of images always came from the diegetic world. The best known example of non-diegetic inserts is the end of *Stachka* (Strike, 1925) by Eisenstein, where the diegetic killing of workers is crosscut with the non-diegetic slaughter of a bull.

[32] Douglas Gomery, *Movie History: A Survey* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1991), 158.

  a) village waiting (several locations)
  b) at Party headquarters
  c) tractor in the fields
6. (410-610) Bread making "montage sequence"
7. (611-651) Vasyl's dance and death
8. (652-746) Opanas before the funeral (at home, with the priest, at the Party office)
9. (747-943) Vasyl's funeral:
  a) procession and speech
  b) Vasyl's mother in labour
  c) priest at church
  d) Natalka grieving at home
  e) Khoma in the fields
10. (944-980) Ending

The structure of *Zemlia* deploys crosscutting sequences in a progressive fashion: from a short fourth sequence consisting in two scenes, to the fifth sequence of three parallel scenes, to the ninth sequence, which uses five parallel scenes. Other sequences in the film have linear structures, that is, the film's action moves from one event to another and the events follow one another chronologically. As I indicated earlier, the bread making "montage sequence" may also be viewed as parallel montage. There are, however, only isolated images that suggest this interpretation. The overall progression, logical and rhythmical, gives the impression of linear development.

The progression of the film from simple to complex parallel sequences mirrors a pattern which Dovzhenko often uses to build sequences. He chooses shots with a single element in them, followed by a shot with two elements and so on. Sequence five begins with a shot of a single ox (E: 214), followed by two oxen and then three oxen. The third shot is then matched by a similarly composed shot of three men eating seeds and spitting them out(E: 217).

Syntactic difficulties in Dovzhenko's films influence the meanings of the films and suggest multiple interpretations. Often open-ended, the structures of Dovzhenko's films permit parallel rhetorical arguments that result in semantic difficulties.

1b. Semantic Ambiguities

Dovzhenko does build his films according to the rhetorical model of Soviet cinema of the 1920s. It is my contention, however, that the nature of Dovzhenko's arguments does not mirror those of other Soviet directors. I submit that opinions to the contrary were built on the premise that the Soviet Union was a monolithic entity and presumed unanimous support of the party line and Bolshevik power. The latter may apply to most Soviet directors. In the case of Dovzhenko, such generalization is dangerous. His case is more complex. Many inconsistencies and ambiguities in Dovzhenko's films can be explained in terms of the complexities in Ukrainian history and with reference to Dovzhenko's biography.[33] Although

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[33] David Bordwell, on the other hand, claims that: "In syuzet terms, the narration further strives to eliminate any ambiguity at the level of causality (motives, goals, preconditions) or at the level of the rhetorical point made. Most narrational difficulties presented by these films *cannot be explained under the rubrics of realism or subjectivity*; the problems are clearly marked as proceeding from the self-

Dovzhenko's fabulas and their resolution do reinforce the Bolshevik line, the syuzhet and style of his films question and, even, contradict it. The films always make a second argument, parallel to the overt main argument of the film. As a result, the didactic aspect of Dovzhenko's films is less forceful and less apparent. As Kepley notes, "Dovzhenko's ambivalence is far too profound and far too earnestly expressed to give way to didactic posturing."[34]

The resolution of conflicts in the films are unsatisfactory from the perspective of Bolshevik rhetoric. The class enemy in Dovzhenko's films is never punished by the Bolsheviks. Pavlo, in *Zvenyhora*, shoots himself because of his failure to accomplish his goal, not because he fears being captured by the Bolsheviks. His suicide is an extension of the suicide scheme that he offered Westerners as a fundraising activity. He must commit suicide because there is no place for him in the new Ukraine. Similarly, Khoma in *Zemlia* confesses and punishes himself but is seemingly ignored by the community, which appears to reject him on moral rather than social grounds. The victorious UNR soldiers, who shoot at Tymish at the end of *Arsenal*, vanish when their actions prove futile. Although Tymish is on the side of the defeated, he

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conscious narration." *Narration*, 241 (emphasis added).

[34] Vance Kepley, Jr., "The Fiction Films of Alexander Dovzhenko: A Historical Reading," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978, 188.

does not possess moral superiority over his enemy. Instead, he is endowed with some fantastic power that makes them disappear. Would not the suggestion that the Bolsheviks need supernatural powers to overcome Ukrainian nationalist forces be a thorough insult to Bolshevik dogma?

The fabula of *Zvenyhora* is rather simplistic and adheres to a "structure of confrontation," wherein characters do not change and represent a group in the midst of struggle.[35] Tymish joins the Bolsheviks and through hard work and formal study prepares himself to build a new socialist Ukraine. The superstitious grandfather, who lives in the past, searches for hidden treasures. Tymish's brother, Pavlo, influenced by the grandfather's stories, joins the nationalists. After failing to bomb the train of the revolution he kills himself. The characters follow their chosen paths and the Bolsheviks appear victorious. This schematic fabula, in alignment with Bolshevik dogma and the rhetorical model of Soviet cinema, is obscured by a complex syuzhet and internal conflict. The Bolshevik victory suggested by the "happy ending" does not result from an open confrontation but from the internal weakness of the enemy. Pavlo is a buffoon, a weak and naive character, not a serious or powerful enemy. He does not have to be overpowered;

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[35] The term is used by Susan Rubin Suleiman, *Authoritarian Fictions: The Ideological Novel as a Literary Genre* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). Quoted in Bordwell, *Narration*, 236-37.

he destroys himself.

The character of the communist Tymish, although superficially positive and victorious, puts many "noble" characteristics of the group he represents into question. While the fabula of *Zvenyhora* contrasts Tymish with his superstitious grandfather and the other grandson, the syuzhet questions his sense of reason. The grandfather and Pavlo are openly superstitious: they believe in supernatural powers and hidden treasures. Tymish studies mathematics and appears to be a rational man. Ironically, his behaviour and fate cannot be explained in rational terms. It is he who possesses supernatural powers. He stops the German soldiers from shooting him when he decides to cross the battle line to extend his brotherly proletarian hand to them (Z: 314-320). Subsequently, he stops the firing squad from executing him and kills a general simply by looking at him (Z: 398).

In Tymish's case, conventional morality is replaced by the fantastic morality that governed the medieval "lives of saints."[36] On the way to sainthood a man had to reject all the carnal pleasures associated with women and family life. In his zealousness to serve God, a saint was permitted to abandon his family and his loved ones. To emphasize the saint's devotion to God, the narrative concerning his departure often depicted drastic measures. In order to join the Bolsheviks Tymish kills a woman—most likely his own girlfriend, who tried to stop him (Z: 648-684).[37]

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[36] The "lives of saints" were obligatory readings in pre-revolutionary schools of the Russian Empire whose curriculum was influenced by the Orthodox church. They were well known to Dovzhenko as a student and as a teacher in this school system.

In short, the exemplary Bolshevik, as represented by Tymish, exhibits contradictory characteristics: he rejects superstition but possesses supernatural powers; he behaves as a pacifist by shaking hands with German enemy soldiers but, in his zealousness to join the Bolsheviks, he kills his girlfriend (a woman of the same class). Nonetheless, Tymish emerges as a victorious and positive character. For the attentive viewer his victory is downplayed by his supernatural powers and double moral standards. All this considerably weakens the purportedly Bolshevik stance of the film.

The extensive use of historical flashbacks also undermines the pro-Bolshevik message of the film. Depictions of the glorious history of Ukraine reinforce a nationalistic emphasis on the Ukrainian right to self-determination. For Ukrainians, the cossacks and the heroic Roksana were symbols of the fight against foreign oppression. These symbols were often used by nationalist propaganda. To be sure, the overtly nationalist argument is diminished by the film's ironic and often grotesque portrayal of Ukrainian history. But the presence and importance of history in *Zvenyhora* reinforces the Borotbist position assumed by Dovzhenko. National history played a significant role in the platform of this national communist party. Dovzhenko's decision to characterize historical events in a grotesque manner reflected the substance of the literary discussion in Ukraine during the 1920s and the ensuing re-assessment of Ukrainian culture along a national rather than ethnographic positions. The artistic groups to which Dovzhenko belonged (e.g., Vaplite, ARMU) fiercely opposed and, often, ridiculed the 19th century romanticized notion of history espoused by the "prosvita" (low-brow) and the "Little Russian" cultural orientations. These groups sought to formulate a new model based on elite art and culture.

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[37] The dilemma as to whether one should kill a close friend or relative in the name of the revolution was common for Ukrainian intellectuals of the 1920s. Such moral struggle appeared as motifs in the literature of the time as in Mykola Khvylovyi's *Ia* and Borys Antonenko-Davydovych's *Smert'*.

In terms of Bolshevik ideology, Dovzhenko's view of history would have been appraised as inappropriate. The two historical sequences in *Zvenyhora* lack intimations of the class struggle. The absence of clearly defined oppressors and oppressed would have been unacceptable to the Bolsheviks, who viewed themselves as those who had brought an end to class injustices. For Bolsheviks history was an account of such injustices.

Far more complex in its composition, *Arsenal* is even more controversial than *Zvenyhora*. The character of Tymish seems to be taken from the earlier film: he has the same name and similar traits; moreover, he is played by the same actor. Like his predecessor, the Tymish of *Arsenal* also possesses supernatural powers. He survives a severe train crash and cannot be killed by bullets. Unlike the characters in *Zvenyhora*, which represent clearly defined positions, the attributes of Tymish make him difficult to pigeonhole. He seems to embody the Borotbist ideology of national communism. Like this ideology, Tymish's character is seemingly contradictory and consistently undermines the pro-Bolshevism of the film.

Murray Smith has shown how Tymish's character brought together two types of characters present in the Soviet cinema of the time: the "positive hero" and the "mass hero."[38] There are, however, other structural traits combined in this character. On the surface, Tymish embodies "the structure of confrontation" as described by Suleiman. From beginning to end he is a devoted communist who abides by his principles and confronts his enemies. His faith in communism seems unshakeable.

There is, however, a parallel "structure of apprenticeship" embodied by this character. In accordance with this structure, "the individual moves from ignorance to knowledge and from passivity to action."[39] Unlike other directors, Dovzhenko reserves this "apprenticeship structure" for the illustration of the theme of national identity. A devoted communist, Tymish moves from ignorance towards national consciousness, without sacrificing social ideals. This Borotbist combination, which was loosing ground in Ukraine in 1929, emerges in Dovzhenko's film through the "montage" of schematic structures employed in contemporary film and literature. The structures of "confrontation" and "apprenticeship" merge when the immortal Tymish, with a torn-open shirt, declares himself "a Ukrainian worker."

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[38] Murray Smith, "The Influence of Socialist Realism on Soviet Montage: *The End of St. Petersburg, Fragment of an Empire*, and *Arsenal*," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 19.1 (1994), 60-64.

Tymish's national apprenticeship is handled with extreme caution. We learn about Tymish's identity during his conversation with a recruiting officer. To the question, "Who are you?" he responds: "A demobilized soldier and arsenal worker" (A: 283). But when asked whether he is Ukrainian he does not answer and is angered by the implied accusation that he is a deserter.[40] Interestingly, it is not clear from which army he may have defected. Later in the film Tymish is asked again: "But you are Ukrainian - Aren't you?" (A: 430). This time he answers: "Yes - a worker!" (A: 432).[41] This answer echoes in his mind (A: 449) before Tymish decides to speak to the soldiers (A: 451-453).

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[39] Suleiman's term quoted in Bordwell, *Narration*, 236.

[40] A script written after the film was released describes the scene as follows:
"Ukrainian?"
Tymish shrugs his shoulders. Of course he's Ukrainian, but why the question? (Transl. by Marco Carynnyk, unpublished manuscript)

Subsequently, we see Tymish as a representative of the Bolsheviks at an all-Ukrainian congress. During his speech he says "We are workers - we are also for the freedom of Ukraine. But we demand the land for the peasants and the factories for the workers!" (A: 482). Tymish's declaration reflects the Borotbist drive for national and social revolution which was also espoused by the artistic intelligentsia (Vaplite). Dovzhenko resorts to historical inaccuracy to present this point. In 1917, when *Arsenal*'s events take place, the Bolsheviks were not interested in the national question or in Ukrainian independence. They were, in fact, opposed to it. Their first invasion of Ukraine aimed to destroy national independence. Tymish thus expresses Dovzhenko's ideal and those of the 1920s, rather than an historical truth.

The transformation of Tymish from a worker to a nationally conscious worker is expressed at the film's climax. In front of enemy rifles Tymish identifies himself as "A Ukrainian worker" (A: 997). Ii is after this declaration that he assumes the power of a Ukrainian folk hero and cannot be killed by bullets.[42] While the Bolshevik "structure of confrontation" dominates *Arsenal's* fabula, the presence of the parallel "structure of national apprenticeship" introduces ambiguity. The structure of confrontation treats the Ukrainian revolution from a simplistic 1929 perspective. But the structure of apprenticeship dates from 1917 and addresses the Ukrainian revolution in its complexity.

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[41] A more accurate translation of the script would be: "Yes. But I'm a worker."

Vance Kepley observes that "Dovzhenko's refusal to pay homage to Lenin in an account of the revolution flies in the face of party doctrine."[43] I must indicate, however, that such an omission was perceived differently in Ukraine. The Ukrainian revolution had occurred as a result of the February and not the October revolution. The Bolshevik invasions of Ukraine can hardly be considered a revolution by Ukrainians since the Bolsheviks had very limited local support initially. By failing to acknowledge Lenin, Dovzhenko portrays the Ukrainian revolution as the local affair it was until the Bolshevik takeover.

The portrayal of nationalists in *Arsenal*, although far from sympathetic, does not follow the Bolshevik party line. As in *Zvenyhora*, the nationalists in *Arsenal* do not pose a serious threat. Their victory in the arsenal battle comes as a surprise because they are not portrayed as a powerful enemy. A nationalist with a pince-nez is not even able to execute a Bolshevik terrorist and is, in turn, disarmed and shot (A: 859-906). The nationalists in *Arsenal* hold meetings, make speeches, attend rallies and glorify history by carrying Shevchenko's portrait and by dressing as Cossacks. They lack the ruthlessness of an enemy that the rhetorical requirements of the plot demanded. Thus, the Bolshevik loss to a weak enemy precludes the typical appeal to martyrdom conveyed in standard depictions of the battle with a powerful evil world.

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[42] The script ends with the following sentence: "Tymish, the Ukrainian worker, continues to stand."

[43] Kepley, "The Fiction Films...," 19.

From the perspective of the nationalist-Bolshevik struggle, the inclusion of elaborate scenes in *Arsenal* portraying the nationalists does not make rhetorical sense. They do, however, make sense as a critique of the vision of Ukraine promoted by nationalist groups. Dovzhenko presents arguments lifted from the literary discussion of the mid-1920s; he does not illustrate the concerns voiced during the Ukrainian revolution. The provincialism of both the nationalist camp and the mass-oriented Ukrainian proletarian organizations—with their cult of Shevchenko, the Cossack past and embroidered shirts—is ridiculed by Dovzhenko. When a fat man in an embroidered shirt says to his neighbour: "That's the Ukrainian presiding Council our teacher in the village has been telling us about!" (A: 461), Dovzhenko alludes to the questionable authority of country teachers in political and cultural matters. A former teacher himself, Dovzhenko was very critical of his colleagues and held them responsible for the state of culture in Ukraine.[44]

This Borotbist duality was not the only element that obscures the Bolshevik rhetorical arguments in *Arsenal*. Dovzhenko's strong pacifist arguments question the human cost of revolutionary activities. A confused Bolshevik soldier facing the moral dilemma of killing the bourgeoisie, a nationalist who is afraid to pull a trigger, a soldier who refuses to fight, a gassed German soldier, as well as mothers and wives awaiting their men—are subversive episodes appearing throughout *Arsenal*.

by deploying parallel montage Dovzhenko suggests that these episodes take place concurrently with the film's fabula. The war and the revolution are contrasted with the suffering and human destruction they bring. While other directors criticized the war, few viewed the revolution as a cause of human suffering. They preferred to see the revolution as a liberating event, despite its casualties.

In sum, the rhetorical pro-Bolshevik argument of *Arsenal*'s plot is subverted by Borotbist influences, an ironic critique of the Ukrainian national movement and a strong pacifist message.

The rhetoric of *Zemlia* differs significantly from that of the two earlier films. The historical revolutionary argument is absent. The film deals with a contemporary subject and its plot is the most straightforward of the trilogy. The basic premise of the film is clear: old farming methods are bad and the "kulaks" who own the land are also bad. The future of the Ukrainian village lies in tractors and in collective farming methods. Vasyl's tragic death is necessary to convert the villagers into believers in collective farming. this process is embodied in the structure of apprenticeship experiences by Opanas. Using a simple, even simplistic plot, Dovzhenko aims for a much broader picture of the Ukrainian countryside. Here life progresses according to the unwritten laws of nature. In this world the death of Vasyl is only an insignificant episode and a temporary break in the eternal rhythm of village life. Changes in village life do not seem sudden or revolutionary but are part of an ever-present evolutionary process.

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[44] Dovzhenko, "Autobiography," 9-11.

Zemlia's greatest accomplishment (or, its biggest mistake) was the attempt to inscribe revolution into a vision of a harmonious life of the Ukrainian village. Nothing in nature seems to disappear or get lost. Forms change but the essence of things remains constant. Vasyl's death is balanced by the birth of his sibling. Vasyl's fiancée, Natalka, finds a new lover. The lament of her naked body during the funeral is balanced by the embrace of a new lover. The religious funeral is balanced by a new, communist one with new songs.

The old methods of farming with oxen and horses are balanced with new tractors. This, however, does not change the fact that land needs to be toiled as it has been for centuries.

Zemlia becomes a hymn to human labour on the soil. Dovzhenko acknowledges hard-working people, like grandfather Semén, and at the same time criticizes the party for not doing the same. Speaking about grandfather Semén, Opanas acknowledges: "For 75 years he plowed the earth with oxen..." (E: 38), and adds: "That's no joke." Grandfather Petro continues the conversation: "If I was a gov'rment secretary ... I'd give him the Soviet Labor Medal" (E: 43, 45). Vasyl, the communist, replies ironically: "For oxen, Gran'pop, they don't give medals" (E: 47). An angry Petro then asks: "Well, what do they give'em for?" (E: 49). The question remains unanswered, although the exchange between Vasyl and Petro continues (E: 50-56). By omitting the intertitle for Vasyl's answer Dovzhenko ignores the reasons why Soviet Labour Medals do not acknowledge those who work the land. He prefers to leave it as an open question. Dovzhenko does not link the party with the hard-working people it claims to represent. The presence or the role of the communist party is not acknowledged in the "bread making" montage sequence. This futuristic vision of collective agriculture fits into the vision of a natural evolutionary process rather than a revolutionary development under the party's guidance.

Zemlia's underlying argument that nature governs the actions of people subtly contradicts the belief in technology propagated by the party. The tractor, a symbol of progress and the revolution in agriculture, is greeted by the villagers with a joy that is commensurate with a religious experience (E: 214-377). But Dovzhenko's cinematic treatment of the tractor does not match the expectations of the crowd. An early western critic points out:

> A crude form of propaganda is overcome by a visionistic outlook—an outlook that seeks to express the richness and materialism of life. There is nothing glorifying in the coming of the tractor in *Earth*, rather does Dovjenko evoke our sympathy and love for the graceful horses and milk-white oxen whose tasks are now at an end.[45]

The refusal to glorify the tractor is expressed in two ways. In terms of fabula, Dovzhenko includes the embarrassing scene of men relieving themselves to replace the tractor's coolant. In this manner he stresses the tractor's dependence on humans. In terms of syuzhet, the images of the tractor are crosscut with much more memorable and powerful images of oxen and horses.

The tractor is one of many elements of technology which Dovzhenko tries to humanize in *Zemlia*. As I indicated at the end of Chapter II, machines in *Zemlia*, particularly in the "bread making" sequence, emulate human movements. By presenting industrialization as nonthreatening to human beings Dovzhenko avoids the glorification of machines. He also suggests that technology should be made to work in synchrony with humans, and not vice versa.

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[45] Paul Rotha, *Celluloid—The Film To-Day* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1933), 139.

By pointing at the contradictions that Dovzhenko's films present in relation to official party doctrine and the general didacticism of Soviet cinema, I am not suggesting that the films express a deliberately subversive agenda. My intention is merely to bring attention to some of the difficulties audiences may have while viewing Dovzhenko's films. His vision of the world was far more complex than the tendentious character of Soviet cinema of the time. Dovzhenko endorsed the system that enabled him to work. But in the fabulas of his films, he seemed to suggest that, beyond the rhetoric, there was also a truth which needed to be explored through the montage of the syuzhets.

2. The Rhythmic Composition of Films

Rhythm in cinema is a complex issue that has received little attention in film theory. In fact, it has been practically untouched after the formative period of film theory ended in the 1960s. Being a universal phenomenon, rhythm is not limited to artistic expression but can be found in all aspects of life. As such, it requires research in such disparate areas as physiology, psychology, anthropology, dance and music. The study of rhythm in cinema would benefit from findings in all these areas.

In the works of early film theoreticians rhythm is often approached through the analogy with music. Due to its regularity, music possesses a "pure rhythm" which combines two characteristics crucial to all temporal phenomena: differences in the intensity of elements, and differences in the duration of elements.[46] The recurrence of similar features in non-musical occurrences is rarely regular and, thus, difficult to measure or describe.

Soviet film criticism and theory of the 1920s devotes much attention to the issue of rhythm in cinema. There are two possible stimuli for this fascination: French Impressionist film and criticism;[47] and the attention paid to rhythm in the Soviet arts, particularly in poetry and theatre. It is difficult to assess to what degree the ideas of the French avant-garde were known in the Soviet Union. Louis Delluc's *Photogénie* was translated into Russian in 1920 and, occasionally, periodicals printed translations of French articles.[48]

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[46] See "Rytm," in *Słownik pojęć filmowych*, vol. 2, Ed. Alicja Helman (Wrocław: Wiedza o kulturze, 1991), 36.

[47] See, for example, Léon Moussinac, "On Cinegraphic Rhythm," *French Film Theory and Criticism* vol. 1, ed. Richard Abel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 280-83; and René Clair, "Rhythm," in Abel, 368-70.

In the Ukrainian milieu, the Berezil' Theatre considered movement and rhythm as the most important elements of their new form of theatrical expression. For its director, Les' Kurbas, "the essence of theatre [was] movement, not the word."[49] Kurbas also believed that rhythm in theatre was necessary to attract and maintain the viewer's attention. One Ukrainian theatre historian writes:

> In the composition of the play (written and staged) Kurbas granted great importance to rhythm. He said that the viewer's attention can be kept not only by content but also by the internal rhythm created by the director. And for this, one needs to learn to feel the meter and the rhythm of the play.[50]

Those actors in Dovzhenko's films who were trained by Kurbas most likely continued to be aware of rhythm when they worked in film. I have dealt with some related aspects of rhythmical composition when I described the dynamic rhythmical compositional elements of an image in Chapter II.

Skrypnyk's theory of montage also devotes much attention to rhythm. In Skrypnyk's opinion, two lines of montage must be observed in order to control the rhythmic composition of a film: the *tempo* line and the *rhythm* line.

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[48] See, for example, Al'ber Giuiio [Albert Guillot?], "Mirkuvannia pro chyste kino," *Nova generatsiia* no. 4 (1928), 300-301, translation from *Cinégraphie*, no. 3, 15 November 1927.

[49] Les' Kurbas, "*Zatoplenyi dzvin*—vystava ukrains'koi studii-teatru v derzhdrami," *Visti VUTsVK* 3 June 1921, reprinted in *Les' Kurbas u teatral'nii dial'nosti, v otsinkakh suchasnykiv, dokumenty*, ed. Valerian Revutsky (Baltimore-Toronto: Smoloskyp, 1989), 130.

[50] Ivan Kryha, "Samobutnii pedahoh," in *Les' Kurbas: Spohady suchasnykiv*, ed. V. S. Vasyl'ko (Kyiv: Mystetstvo, 1969), 188.

2a. Montage Along the "Tempo" Line

The crucial parameter in designing or studying a film's tempo is the length of separate shots. As indicated above, Skrypnyk represented each shot as a curve (or line) on an imaginary graph. The most important element for montage was the point of intersection between neighbouring shots. These meeting points formed steps which, in turn, formed the curve of the film's tempo. If shots are too long the x-axis lengthens and the tempo curve does not rise or fall. Montage shots that are too short result in the curve rising abruptly and may cause "vibrations" in the progression of the viewer's attention.[51]

It is not clear, however, how the tempo curve for each shot should be drawn, and whether the shape of the curve reflects the viewer's impression of the tempo or some determinable elements in content. Even if such an exercise were attempted, the many variables required for its completion would depend on a subjective interpretation of the film's content. The accuracy of the findings would be questionable. Instead of continuing with Skrypnyk's model, a task that would require considerable modification, I propose to look at the tempo, or pace, of Dovzhenko's films from the perspective of statistical averages.

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[51] Skrypnyk, 71-72.

2b. Average Shot Length

The Average Shot Length (ASL) of a film is an important stylistic indicator associated with montage. By examining the ASL of a film we can confirm or contradict our observations regarding the cutting pace of a film. Moreover, we can compare the ASLs of films produced during the same time periods to establish regional differences and international trends. Despite the usefulness of such data, it is rarely used by scholars. Consequently there is a considerable shortage of statistics available for comparative study. Moreover, the calculation of the ASL of films has not been standardized and, depending on the method of calculation, the same film may be ascribed different ASL values.[52]

My calculation of ASLs for Dovzhenko's films produced the following data: *Zvenyhora*—4.19 seconds, *Arsenal*—3.8 seconds, and *Zemlia*—4.19 seconds. Dovzhenko's films thus fall at the slower end of the Soviet montage tradition. According to Bordwell's sample of 22 Soviet films, including four by Dovzhenko, films average two to four seconds per shot and, in some cases, the ASL is under 2 seconds.[53] The 4-second ASL of Dovzhenko's films can be compared only to the fastest cut Hollywood films. The table below, based on the findings of Barry Salt, compares Dovzhenko's cutting pace with that of other films.[54]

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[52] Salt, who has conducted the most thorough research and provides the most extensive data in this area, has calculated ASLs based on 30 minute samples taken from films. Bordwell and Thompson challenge the accuracy of these findings based on their own tests involving entire films. The differences in projection speed used by researchers may have resulted in numeric inaccuracies. The numbers based on samples from films might have further been influenced by a film's dramatic structure. It was a standard practice during the silent era to begin a film slowly and increase the cutting pace towards the film's dramatic climax. Therefore samples taken from a film's initial sequence would produce different results from those taken towards the film's end. See Bordwell and Thompson, "Toward a Scientific Film History?" *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 10.3 (1985), 230-37.

Table 2. ASL of Selected Films, 1924-1930

Film Title	**Director**	**Country**	**Year**	**ASL** sec.
Zvenyhora	Dovzhenko	Ukraine	1928	4.19
Arsenal	Dovzhenko	Ukraine	1929	3.8
Zemlia	Dovzhenko	Ukraine	1930	4.19
Neobychainye prikliucheniia mistera Vesta v strane bolshevikov	Kuleshov	Russia	1924	6.0 (4.3)
Aelita	Protazanov	Russia	1924	7.0
Bronenosets Potemkin	Eisenstein	Russia	1925	4.0 (1.9)
Po zakonu	Kuleshov	Russia	1926	6.5
Devushka s korobkoi	Barnet	Russia	1927	4.0
Dom na Trubnoi	Barnet	Russia	1928	4.0 (3.0)
Novyi Vavilon	Kozintsev/ Trauberg	Russia	1929	5.0 (3.7)

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[53] Bordwell, *Narration*, 238-39.

[54] The ASL of Dovzhenko's films is based on my own calculations. Other statistics are from Salt, 212-13, and Salt, "Statistical Style Analysis of Motion Pictures," *Film Quarterly* 28.1 (1974), 17. Some averages presented by Bordwell and Thompson appear in parentheses.

Der letzte Mann	Murnau	Germany	1924	10.0
Tartüff	Murnau	Germany	1926	6.5
Metropolis	Lang	Germany	1926	7.0
Adieu Mascotte	Thiele	Germany	1929	6.0
Napoleon	Gance	France	1925	5.0
Poil de Carotte	Duvivier	France	1925	5.0
La Glace à trois Faces	Epstein	France	1927	5.5
Les Deux Timides	Clair	France	1928	6.0
The Merry Widow	von Stroheim	USA	1925	5.0
Don Juan	Crosland	USA	1926	3.5
Mantrap	Fleming	USA	1926	4.5
The Unknown	Browning	USA	1927	5.5
The Cradle Snatchers	Hawks	USA	1927	4.5
The Crowd	Vidor	USA	1928	5.0

Even if we allow for a considerable error margin in the above calculations, certain international trends are discernible. They suggest that Soviet films were faster-paced than American, German and French productions. Dovzhenko's silent trilogy follows the trends set by the leading Soviet directors of the time, although it is much slower than the fastest Russian Soviet films.[55] The slower tempo of Dovzhenko's films conforms with his adoption of a more meditative style and the attention he paid to the expressive qualities of single images.

The fact that the ASLs of Dovzhenko's films match those of other Soviet filmmakers is not surprising. This similarity notwithstanding, film viewers have perceived pronounced differences among his three silent films. For example, *Arsenal* seems much faster than *Zemlia*, even though the difference between the two films' respective ASLs is only 0.39 second (or less than 10%). Why do we perceive the tempo of shots in *Arsenal* as much faster?

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[55] According to Bordwell, *Bronenosets Potemkin* (Eisenstein, 1925), *Desertir* (Pudovkin, 1933), *Goluboi ekspress* (Trauberg, 1929), and *Prostoi sluchai* (Pudovkin, 1932) have ASLs of less than two seconds. *Narration*, 239.

Pronounced differences between the two films, as we saw in Chapter II, stem from the differences in shot distribution according to distance. There are twice as many close-ups in *Arsenal* than in *Zemlia*. Can we conclude that cutting between close-ups can be perceived as faster than the cutting of longer shots, even if the ASL is the same? Although this explanation may be true for these two films, a more extensive study of such phenomena would be required to forward this observation as a theoretical hypothesis.

Furthermore, a film's tempo seems to be an elusive category which depends not so much on the film itself but, rather, on the temporal illusion the film creates in the viewer. In 1928 Kurbas defined tempo in theatre as "the degree of predominance between the whole and its parts."[56] For him a slow tempo in a play is achieved when "the viewer restricts his attention to a part of the performance [...] and forgets about the tension of the entire play."[57] If we assume that this observation holds true for cinema, it may provide some insight into Dovzhenko's films.

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[56] Les' Kurbas, "Pro suchasnyi temp i rytm," in his *Berezil'* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1988), 163.

The episodic structure of Dovzhenko's films and the lack of well-defined conflicts within them result in weakened dramatic structures. Often, the viewer perceives segments of a film, particularly in *Arsenal*, without being able to link them to the whole. Therefore the viewer's entire attention focuses on an episode and he is unable to perceive the tension of the film as a whole.

2c. Montage Along the "Rhythm" Line

According to Skrypnyk, the rhythm of montage is the montage of rhythms of each and every element of a film: acting, sets, frame composition, etc. The rhythm of montage can be achieved by establishing certain lengths of montage shots as well as by selecting appropriate beginnings and endings for montage shots. A filmmaker may choose a *normal* rhythm of montage or a *non-rhythmical* montage. The latter is used to convey elements of abnormal psychology or to create surprise, either real or fantastic.[58]

Skrypnyk's observations are based on Timoshenko's theories which had laid the foundation for the formal study of the rhythm of montage. In order to establish the regularity of occurrences, Timoshenko proposes analysis of three rhythmic components: changes in duration of montage elements; changes of accents; and changes in the character of movement. Timoshenko recorded his findings in graph form.[59]

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[57] Kurbas, "Pro suchasnyi," 163.

[58] Skrypnyk, 72-74.

I propose to look at one of Dovzhenko's scenes which, often, has been noted for its lyricism. In this fashion, we can test Timoshenko's methodology to see whether it offers insight into the description of lyrical rhythmic qualities.

The sequence at the beginning of *Zemlia* which depicts grandfather Semén's death consists of 80 shots (E: 1-80) and lasts 8 minutes and 48 seconds. The first general observation one can make about the sequence is that it is slower than the rest of the film. The ASL of the sequence is 6.57 seconds, as compared to the 4.19 second average for the entire film. Shots range in length from 1 second (E: 48) to 27 seconds (E: 59), with the majority of shots falling between 4 and 9 seconds.

The change in shot duration can be represented in graph form:

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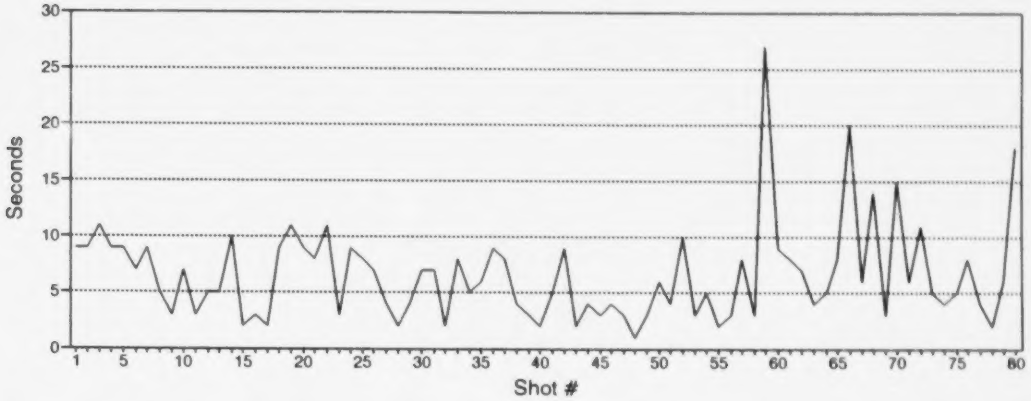
[59] See Timoshenko, 61-70.

Figure 2. Changes in Shot Duration



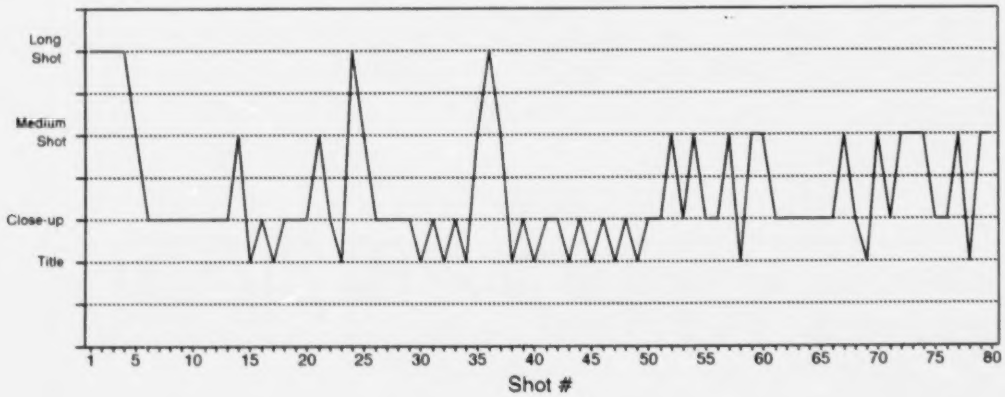
It should be noted that most short takes in the graph result from the inclusion of intertitles. If we were to exclude them (E: 15, 17, 23, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49, 58, 69, 78), the curve of the graph would flow more smoothly and the ASL would fall between five and ten seconds.

The beginning of *Zemlia* employs most regularly shots of similar duration. Long shots depicting a field of wheat remain on screen for similar periods of time. The takes become shorter as Dovzhenko begins to use close-ups. The shortest take (E:48) coincides with the climax of the sequence, when grandfather Petro abruptly turns his head and angrily asks on what grounds the party awards labour medals.

The ending of the sequence utilizes a series of long takes (E: 59, 66, 68, 70, 72, 80). They all depict grandfather Semén during the last moments of his life. These shots are intercut with much shorter takes depicting members of his family. With this fairly regular pattern at the end of the sequence, Dovzhenko restores the scene's tranquillity.

Another parameter indicating changes in a film's rhythm is the curve depicting change in the distribution of the film's accents. By accents Timoshenko understands changes in camera distance. Close-ups stress detail. The line of the graph rises more steeply when changes in distance are more pronounced. Our sequence can be represented as follows:

Figure 3. Changes in Accents



As in the previous graph, I have included intertitles. (Unfortunately Timoshenko's thinking does not take them into account.) If the transition between two shots occurs with an intertitle in between the change is less pronounced. Unless the title is short, printed in large letters, and appears as though it were a close-up, its presence is not accented. Moreover, the shot that follows an intertitle will have its accent softened because its relation to the shot preceding the intertitle will be less articulated.

If we disregard the intertitles in the above graph, we can note that changes in shot distance are not stressed at the beginning of *Zemlia*. Transitions from long shots to close-ups always occur with a medium shot or an intertitle between them to soften the impact of the transition. Dovzhenko seems to prefer clusters of shots of the same distance, or series of shots in which changes in shot distance are less pronounced. Changes in accent do not reflect the sequence's dramatic structure. Its climax cannot be determined from the graph.

The third curve of Timoshenko's theory appears to be far more useful. This is the curve that represents changes in the character of movement within frames. I assign each shot a number from 0 to 10 to represent the speed or intensity of movement within the frame. The number 0 indicates stillness or no movement at all; 10 represents fast movement across the frame which prevents us from identifying the shape of an object.[60] Under this system, the beginning of *Zemlia* can be represented as follows:

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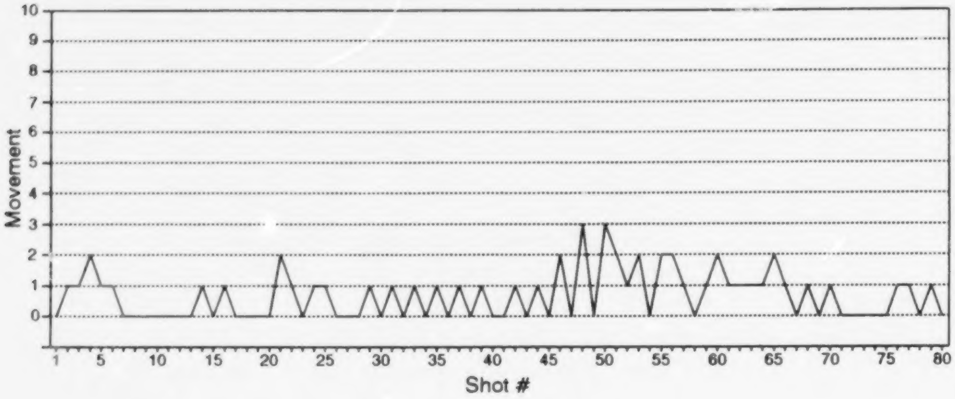
[60] The numbers assigned to various speeds of movement are, of course, arbitrary. They do not represent exact, scientifically verifiable units but subjective ranges which can be assigned to movement. Thus, the graph illustrates the scale of changes in movement and establishes patterns; it does not constitute a system of measurement.

Figure 4. Changes in Movement



Movement at the beginning of *Zemlia* is very slow. Most shots contain no movement or very little movement (1 indicates lip movement in a close-up or the slow turning of a character's head). Sporadic acceleration of movement, on the other hand, provides strong accents reflecting changes in the scene's dramatic content. The quick movement of grandfather Petro's head and the angry expression on his face are the climax of the sequence (E: 48, 50). These are the two fastest and most pronounced movements in the entire sequence. The movement in the shots immediately preceding and following the climax is also more pronounced than in the rest of the sequence. This allows for a slower build-up of the scene's dramatic structure.

The graph also indicates how the shots of the wheat field at the film's beginning are joined so that the rate of movement increases with each frame. The intensity of movement increases only slightly at first, then decreases so as to lead up to the complete absence of movement in subsequent shots.

Timoshenko's method of plotting a film's rhythmical structure graphically appears to reflect effectively the rhythm of the analyzed sequence. The graphs representing changes in shot duration and in movement between frames are more informative. They are more indicative of the content of the sequence and the impression a scene may have on the viewer. The graph of the distribution of accents, or shot distance changes, seems of marginal importance to the analyzed sequence. Unlike temporal changes, it appears that changes in the shot distance have little or no effect on the film's dramatic impact. One can conclude that the rhythmic changes at the beginning of *Zemlia* are the result of temporal manipulation of shot duration and intensity of movement.

Can we then determine which rhythmic elements in the sequence contribute to its lyrical effect? It seems that all rhythmic components must be seen integrally. Moreover, the lyrical character of a scene is closely related to the distribution of its various elements. A contemporaneous definition of lyricism in theatre offers a key to understanding the issue. In 1928 Kurbas wrote:

> Lyricism is a given mood, fixed in a given meter, that is, a mood which is the same at the beginning and at the end of a scene. If this mood does not change and forms the basis [of the scene] then we

have a lyrical fact.[61]

If we look at the beginning of *Zemlia* using Kurbas' definition we can draw several conclusions. The mood of the sequence seems unchanged throughout the sequence. The sequence does not establish conflict nor does it advance the film's plot. The first shot of the field coincides in mood and intensity with the last shot of grandfather Semén's body lying in the orchard. Very little happens in these eighty shots.

The analysis of the rhythmic elements of the sequence seems to confirm this. Movements are closely monitored and kept to a minimum (0 or 1 out of 10). Even the dramatic climax of the scene is of low intensity (where movement reaches only 3 out of 10). The progression towards longer takes indicates that Dovzhenko considered the scene as a whole. Longer takes at the end of the sequence seem to compensate for the cluster of shorter takes used at the sequence's climax. With longer takes and slower movement the sequence returns to its initial mood.

* * *

The significance of montage in early Soviet cinema cannot be overemphasized. As a compositional device, montage developed its own formal strategies aimed at fulfilling the rhetorical mandate of the worker's state. The tendentiousness of a film's content was often balanced by formal innovation. Although Dovzhenko had adopted many of the stylistic traits that characterize Soviet films of the time, not all difficulties in comprehending the silent trilogy can be explained by examining the films' formal aspects. Within the constraints of communist rhetoric, the trilogy often questions or contradicts ideological and historical premises in order to include the concerns of Dovzhenko's generation. Films about the revolution revisit Ukrainian conflicts, including the drive towards both national and social liberation.

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[61] Kurbas, "Pytannia prostoru, chasu i rytmu v mystetstvi," in his *Berezil'* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1988), 162.

As an artist, Dovzhenko considered it appropriate to question the society in which he lived and the political system that employed him. By setting up formal and contextual ambiguities through the exploration of parallel montage techniques, Dovzhenko was able to suggest that his films allow multiple interpretations.

Although Dovzhenko's montage style borrowed many techniques from other directors, it was not imitative. Dovzhenko mastered the techniques of others and adjusted them to the subject matter of his films. His attention to cinematic rhythm and tempo exemplifies his desire to develop his skills concurrently with world trends and to work effectively with the material of his films. The resultant style, often called lyrical or poetic, speaks of Dovzhenko's ability to integrate the meaningful and the beautiful.

Conclusion

This dissertation conjoins an analysis of the stylistic elements in Dovzhenko's silent films with a study of the historical and aesthetic contexts that influenced their production. By reexamining aspects of Dovzhenko's biography, I have sought to flesh out the issues that motivated the fabulas and syuzhets of the director's films. These very issues had been deliberately neglected or misrepresented by Soviet biographers. Dovzhenko's class origin, his participation and loyalties during the Ukrainian revolution, his fine arts training in Germany and Ukraine, and his contribution to the Ukrainian cultural renaissance of the 1920s influenced the form and content of his silent trilogy. I have placed Dovzhenko's films within the specific context of the early Soviet Ukraine because this environment differed significantly from the realities of the Soviet Union as a whole. Inasmuch as Dovzhenko's films treat local issues, such as the Ukrainian revolution, the nuances of that national and social conflict required detailed explication.

A study of Dovzhenko's membership and participation in political and cultural groups gives invaluable information concerning the mind-set of Ukrainian intellectuals in the 1920s. Significant events in Dovzhenko's life often resulted from his personal contacts with these groups. The Borotbist chapter in Dovzhenko's life was decisive; it influenced most of his activities during the 1920s and haunted him for the rest of his life. Dovzhenko's association with this national communist party resulted in a brief diplomatic career and the chance to study art in Germany. His employment as a cartoonist and painter in Kharkiv, and his contacts with the VUFKU were other consequences of this association. The Borotbists were also responsible for the creation of a national film industry in Ukraine. The fact that Dovzhenko and many of his friends were employed by this industry is no coincidence. Rather it points to a systematic attempt to build a significant national cultural institution.

Dovzhenko brought Borotbist ideas and outlooks to his films at a time when the Bolsheviks had consolidated their power in Ukraine. The Bolshevik party at this time no longer favoured the national aspirations of the republics. Although Dovzhenko was loyal to Borotbist ideals and to the goal of creating a national cinema, he also had to weigh political realities. His films reflect these disparate concerns: they appear to be in line with Soviet doctrine but reflect, nonetheless, the political ideals of Dovzhenko's generation. Dovzhenko developed a film style that sought to accommodate these political contradictions into one aesthetic whole.

Guided by the framework of historical poetics, I viewed Dovzhenko's silent trilogy in relation to filmmaking practices of the time. Films made in Ukraine, the Soviet montage tradition, and the classical Hollywood model provide a background against which Dovzhenko's cinema must be judged. The evolution of cinema as an industry and as an art form was rather swift. His films need to be compared to films made elsewhere at that time. This is especially true for Dovzhenko's trilogy, which was accomplished at a time when cinema was about to undergo one of the most drastic changes in its history—the sound revolution.

In Dovzhenko's films an awareness of cinematic tradition is combined with a need for personal expression. The techniques of the cinema are adopted to suit a multiplicity of ideas and concerns. The tendentiousness of historical-materialist narration is counterbalanced with the rhetoric of Borotbist politics and ideas expounded during the Ukrainian cultural discussions of the 1920s. Amidst such broader socio-political concerns Dovzhenko's humanist and artistic interests also emerge and give his films a universal dimension.

In my analysis of Dovzhenko's films I have avoided imposing contemporary theoretical models. The theoretical writings of lesser known Soviet theoreticians seem more appropriate for the purpose of historical poetics and for the exploration of film culture in the 1920s. Their ideas reflect the state of knowledge about the medium as well as concerns and trends exhibited by the cinema of the time. My references to Leonid Skrypnyk and Semën Timoshenko are intended to show how Dovzhenko's films realize, in practical terms, the ideal of cinema proposed by these theoreticians. Their attention to film image and montage reverberates in the organization of my work; and their consideration of cinematic rhythm affects my understanding of Dovzhenko's style. By studying these theoreticians, I have ventured beyond the theoretical models of Eisenstein and Pudovkin with which Western scholarship is generally familiar. My intent has been to expand our knowledge of Soviet film theory.

The leitmotif of "poetic cinema" surfaces throughout the analytical parts of this dissertation. While discussing various cinematic elements, I have attempted to test the validity of the critical assessment of Dovzhenko's films as "poetic" or "lyrical." There is no single feature or innovative technique in Dovzhenko's films that justifies the critics' use of these terms. Dovzhenko was able to perfect the use of devices widely used in the film industry to suit his purposes. His use of lens diffusion and his attention to composition result in the creation of desired rhythms and moods. Through montage he is able to sustain these rhythms and moods for extended periods of time. It was this ability to regulate and maintain the constant emotional response of the viewer that earned Dovzhenko his place in film history.

This dissertation has led me to discover that we lack systematic examination of numerous elements of cinematographic expression. Our knowledge of many devices in silent cinema is often inadequate to allow for an understanding of the use of such devices in narrower bodies of works. The development of broad cinematic hypotheses is beyond the scope of the present study. Its practical function has been to demonstrate that Dovzhenko's films raise many basic theoretical issues which deserve to be brought into focus. I have sought to integrate insights into particular films with broader theoretical concerns. In order to understand Dovzhenko's use of intertitles, I provide an overview of their evolution and use. The absence of theoretically significant work on rhythm in cinema has prompted me to seek explanations for this phenomenon and possible methods for studying it in the long forgotten works of early film theoreticians.

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APPENDICES I-III

Shot-by-Shot Film Descriptions

The following appendices include shot-by-shot descriptions of the three films discussed in this dissertation. For the sake of brevity they are only an approximation of the individual shots in the films. I treat titles as montage elements, and they are assigned numbers like other shots. Descriptions focus on the semantic content of the shots and give some technical data on the type of shot in question. Unusual or striking elements of shots are also described whenever possible. For example, I describe the direction of movements within frames treating the screen as two-dimensional. The direction of the movement is described *from the viewer's point of view* rather than from the character's point of view. when shots in a sequence are similar in some respect, I summarize by cross-referencing where possible. I use the notations: *Like #* or *Similar to #*. "Like" refers to shots with identical framing to the cross-referenced shot and does not necessarily mean that the actions performed by characters are the same. "Similar to" indicates that the framing has only slightly changed, that, for example, the camera angle or camera distance differs somewhat. I have used intertitles which appear in translations available on video copies in North America. The following abbreviations are used:

LS -long shot
MS -medium shot
CU -close up
T -intertitle
(LA) -low angle
(HA) -high angle
(TS) -tracking shot
L -left
R -right

APPENDIX I: *Zvenyhora*

1. T: Soaked with blood, sealed in secrecy, shrouded in legend, treasures of the country have been buried for ages in Ukrainian soil.

2. LS: Slow motion. Cossacks on horses cross the frame from right to left. First, one rider enters and leaves the frame; followed by 2 riders; then a single rider followed by a group of three riders. All together 7 riders.

3. T: The centuries-old guardian, preserver of antiques, a moss-covered grandfather, watches now as he watched when Cossack robbers roamed the country 300 years-1000 years ago.

4. LS: Slow motion. A grain field and a dirt road in the foreground of the frame. The grandfather dressed in white pulls a horse and a cart. Horizon at 60% of the frame.

5. LS: A lone tree at the right side. Horizon at 10% of the frame. Still.

6. MS: The grandfather's upper half and his horse's head in a closed composition. The man says something, and the horse shows anxiety. Both of them look forward.

7. LS: The man, his horse and cart are in the background of the frame. Cossacks on horses enter the frame from right to left. Their backs are turned to the camera. They group around the grandfather with their backs to the camera. 7 men enter the screen.

8. CU: (LA) Otaman's (cossack leader) face at the left edge of the frame. Shot against the sky. Nothing else appears in the frame. The cossack speaks.

9. T: "Have you seen any Poles?"

10. LS: The grandfather surrounded by the horses and riders. He looks up to them and speaks. He walks from the centre of the frame towards left. A horse's head moves up and down and fills the right side of the frame.

11. T: "At Zvenigora the cursed ones roam! They dig the ground - they search for the vault - they want to steal our hidden Ukrainian treasures."

12. LS: Like #10. The grandfather turns addressing the Cossacks.

13. CU: Like #8. The Otaman thinks, then looks down and speaks. This frame is shot from a slightly different angle than #8. The head of another Cossack is seen at the bottom right corner of the frame.

14. T: "Unharness your horse. Mount and ride with us!"

15. MS: One of the cossacks on the horse smokes a pipe and spits while laughing.

16. MS: The Otaman in the centre of the frame turns to his companions and speaks.

17. T: "A sword for grandfather. So he becomes a roaming Cossack robber!"

18. CU: A horse moves its head up and down the centre of the frame. Same horse as in #s 10 & 12.

19. MS: A Cossack without a nose is mounting the horse that constantly moves its head. The Cossack laughs. He faces the camera.

20. MS: Another Cossack on a horse laughing.

21. MS: Two Cossacks on their horses laughing. Framed in profile. The horses face opposite directions.

22. MS: The confused grandfather in the centre of the frame. He turns his head to face the camera.

23. MS: Four Cossacks on their horses. Horses not seen. The bodies of the cossacks lined along the diagonal of the frame.

24. MS: One of the Cossacks approaches the grandfather and gives him a sword. The grandfather accepts it reluctantly.

25. MS: Three cossacks on their horses look down.

26. MS: The grandfather in the centre of the frame looks down at the sword, pokes his horse with it and decides to wear the sword.

Dissolve to:

27. MS: The cossacks riding their horses in group along the diagonal of the frame. Tight composition showing the horses and parts of the soldiers.

28. LS: The grandfather's cart abandoned in the field. Horizon at 70%.

Fade out
Fade in

29. LS: A dirt road on which a large group of Cossacks on horse back appear. The grandfather is at the lead of the group. The detachment moves towards the camera.

30. MS: The grandfather and the Otaman at the head of the detachment. The camera tracks back ahead of the riders and slightly pans to the right and then to the left.

31. LS: Another part of the Cossack detachment moves along the diagonal.

32. MS: The Otaman's white horse comes to a stop.

33. MS: The grandfather points to something with his stick an speaks. He turns his head to the right and looks up.

34. T: "There is Zvenigora!"

35. LS: A wooded slope of a hill.

36. MS: The Otaman turns to the grandfather and speaks. The grandfather in the foreground; shot in profile. The Otaman towering behind him lowers himself to speak.

37. T: "I'll ride straight but you Grandfather, lead the hundred brethren in a flanking movement. Only mind you - do not dig the ground without me! Do not touch the hidden treasures. Forward!"

38. MS: The Grandfather spits in the palms of his hands and withdraws his sword. Waving the sword, he exits to the left of the frame. The cossacks follow him.

39. LS: The grandfather emerges from the forest in the background of the frame. Waving his sword and turning his head back, he rides his horse along the diagonal of the frame. The cossacks in smaller units follow him.

Fade out
Fade in

40. MS: Tall grass. Someone wearing a feathered hat hides in the grass and moves from the left to the right of the frame. The movement is seen through the movement of the grass.

41. MS: Tall grass. (different from #40) Someone moves from the right to the left of the frame. Bare feet are seen for a short moment.

42. MS: The tall grass stands still for a moment. Someone suddenly jumps in the top left corner of the frame.

43. MS: The Otaman lifts the grandfather from the grass. He holds a knife in his right hand while his left hand grips the grandfather's collar. The grandfather raises his sword. The cossack releases the man and talks to him angrily.

44. MS: The Otaman lifts the grandfather to a standing position continuously talking. He pushes the grandfather out of the frame to the right.

45. LS: (HA) The grandfather rolls down the hill. He gets up at the bottom of the slope and raises his sword.

46. MS: The Otaman speaks, while looking down and to the left.

47. T: "Where are your Poles, Grandfather?"

48. MS: Same as #46.

49. LS: (HA) The grandfather looks up and speaks.

50. T: "A Pole sat in the oak. There is no Pole any more."

51. MS: A Polish nobleman sits on a tree branch. The main distinction between the Polish nobleman and the cossacks is the nobleman's moustache which turns upward. He fixes it so it stays upwards. He is hidden among the leaves.

52. LS: A cossack sits under a tree, plays bandura and sings. He is surrounded by his fellow cossacks and their horses.

53. LS: The grandfather and the Otaman walk in the woods. The grandfather explains something.

54. MS: The surprised grandfather stops. He looks at something ahead of him and turns his head towards the cossack. Both men start to run.

55. LS: Both man run and jump simultaneously to catch an object in the grass. The cossack wins a short struggle and raises a golden chalice.

56. MS: Both man look at their finding with astonishment. The chalice in the cossack's hand turns into a piece of glass. The grandfather and the cossack look at each other surprised.

57. LS: (HA) The cossack looks at the piece of glass and throws it away angrily. Both man get up and walk away. They exit the frame to the left.

58. LS: (HA) A glittering object in the grass. Both men come close to it and look at it. The object disappears. The men look at each other and start digging in the ground with their hands.

59. MS: (LA) Two Polish nobleman sitting in the tree. One of them sneezes.

60. MS: (HA) Similar to #58: The grandfather and the cossack dig the ground with their hands. The cossack hears something and pulls a pistol. The grandfather stops digging and covers his ears when the cossack fires the pistol.

61. LS: Similar to #52: The nobleman falls out of the tree. The cossacks who were listening to the bandura player run away in all directions.

62. MS: Like #60. The Otaman turns his head to the grandfather.

63. LS: Armed cossacks run in the woods. They cross the frame along the diagonal.

64. LS: Cossacks run along the diagonal opposite to that in #63.

65. LS: Like #63. Cossacks on horses.

66. MS: Three armed cossacks move back along the diagonal.

67. LS: Cossacks run along the bottom of the frame L to R.

68. LS: Like #67. Cossacks pull horses along the bottom of the frame L to R.

69. CU: An armed cossack's torso moves along the bottom of the frame L to R.

70. LS: Like #67.

71. LS: Like #64.

72. CU: (LA) The Otaman whistles.

73. LS: The cossacks gather in one spot. They arrive quickly from all directions.

74. MS: The Otaman and the grandfather. The former raises his arm and the latter waves his sword and gives orders.

75. LS: Like #73. The cossack unit disperses. The men run in all directions.

76. MS: A cossack lying on the ground aims his rifle to the left and fires.

77. LS: A nobleman falls off and hangs from a tree branch.

78. MS: A cossack sitting on the ground with his legs crossed fires a rifle to the right while looking to the left.

79. LS: A body falls out of the tree and hits the ground.

80. CU: A cossack lying on the ground fires a rifle. Only his head and arms are visible. The rifle crosses the frame along its diagonal.

81. LS: Another body falls off the tree.

82. CU: Something undistinguishable. A body? Very short take.

83. LS: Another body falls out of the tree.

84. CU: Like #78.

85. LS: Like #83.

86. MS: Another cossack looks to the right, and then turns his head to the left; at the same time he aims his rifle and fires to the right. Subsequently, he turns his head to the right to see the result.

87. LS: A body in a black coat hits the ground.

88. MS: The grandfather aims his rifle to the left and fires while turning his head away.

89. LS: Three bodies fall off the tree. Framed like #83.

90. MS: The grandfather like in #88, but shot from a different angle. He now faces the camera. He raises his fist, shouts something and starts crawling towards the camera.

91. LS: The grandfather framed within a V-shape of a tree. He kneels, loads his rifle, and lies down.

92. MS: The grandfather's bare foot feels something in the ground. He turns his body and finds something in the ground with his hands. He puts his ear to the ground and listens.

93. MS: Two cossacks arrive and help the grandfather lift a heavy trap door. Once the trap door is lifted, the cossacks run away scared. The grandfather crawls back as a dark dressed figure with a lantern emerges from the ground.

94. MS: Reverse shot to #93. As the figure emerges, the grandfather rises to his feet and aims his rifle at the figure; the rifle does not fire. He drops the rifle to the ground. Recognising this supernatural force, the grandfather waves his arms and moves back behind the tree. The figure follows him.

95. LS: Like #91. The black robed figure with a raised lantern, now framed within the V-shape of the trees, moves forward. His face comes to extreme close up as he approaches the camera.

96. MS: A group of cossacks sitting on the ground in a circle talking. Another cossack runs towards them and points to something. All faces turn to the left with the expression of surprise.

97. CU: A cossack's face. His hand moves to cover his eyes.

98. CU: (HA) A cossack's face. His mouth wide open; his eyes look fearfully upwards.

99. CU: (extreme) Wide open eyes and nose.

100. CU: Undistinguishable. A face with wide open mouth?

101. CU: An older cossack's face facing the camera. His mouth open.

102. CU: A face of the cossack without the nose. His mouth wide open. Positioned along the diagonal.

103. CU: (extreme) A cossack's face. Wide open mouth and frightened eyes.

104. MS: A cossack moves back. Only the bottom part of the man is seen. He moves from the bottom to the top of the frame.

105. MS: A group of cossacks walks backwards. They move from R to L.

106. LS: A group of cossacks emerges from a forest. While the cossacks run in towards the camera at the bottom of the screen, the top part of the screen is filled with a superimposed image of a black robed figure. The size of the superimposed image is colossal compared to the figures of the cossacks. The black robed figure can now be recognised as a Catholic monk. He raises a lantern in his left hand and a rosary in his right. Then the image disappears and the monk in natural size emerges from the forest following the cossacks.

107. MS: Frightened faces of retreating cossacks.

108. LS: Like #106. The monk follows the cossacks' footsteps.

109. MS: Like #107. The cossacks turn and run away.

110. LS: Reverse shot to #109. The cossacks run towards the camera.

111. MS: The Otaman enters the frame with his arms raised. He shouts in order to stop the cossacks.

112. MS: The group of cossacks runs away from the camera; they stop suddenly and turns back.

113. MS: Like #111. The Otaman pulls out a long knife.

114. T: "Take your knives, children."

115. MS: Like #113. The Otaman turns and runs away from the camera. He is followed by the cossacks.

116. LS: The group led by the Otaman emerges from the forest and chases out the monk who was seen in the foreground.

117. MS: Reverse shot to #116. The cossacks chase the monk who is seen from behind. They stop suddenly.

118. MS: The monk raises his rosary.

119. MS: The armed Otaman and the cossacks move back.

120. MS: The monk throws something.

121. LS: Clouds of smoke above the trap door in the ground from which the monk emerged earlier. The figure of the monk silhouetted against white cloud disappears. The smoke continues to surface from the entrance to the ground.

Dissolve to:

122. LS: Cossack bodies cover the entire frame. They are lying on the ground. One body begins to move like in a nightmare.

123. MS: (HA) A cossack on the ground, framed with his head at the bottom of the frame.

124. MS: (HA) A cossack lying on the ground with his sword beside him. Framed like #123.

125. CU: (HA) The grandfather's head. He is sleeping on the ground.

126. MS: Two cossacks awake and get up from the ground.

127. MS: A cossack raises his head from the ground, scratches his leg and goes back to sleep.

128. MS: (HA) Similar to #125. The grandfather raises his head from the ground, looks around and speaks.

129. MS: Reverse shot to #128. The grandfather's back in the foreground. Two cossacks crawl towards him. The Otaman enters the frame while shouting.

130. T: "To the horses!"

131. MS: The Otaman stands among the cossacks sleeping on the ground. Some cossacks arrive and then run in the direction shown by the Otaman. The Otaman walks around and looks at those sleeping on the ground.

132. CU: A cossack raises his head, smiles and pretends to be asleep.

133. MS: Similar to #131. The Otaman hits those on the ground with his whip. The cossacks get up quickly and run in different directions.

134. LS: (HA) The cossacks mount horses and ride along the diagonal of the frame.

135. MS: A cossack holds a horse for the Otaman. The grandfather with his horse stand in the background. The Otaman takes the horse and turns to the grandfather.

136. CU: The Otaman's head and the horse's head at the left edge of the frame. The Otaman speaks.

137. T: "Where are your vaults, Grandfather?"

138. CU: The grandfather's head at the centre of the frame. His horse's head is to right of the frame. He thinks and then speaks.

139. T: "My vaults are where the hidden treasures are."

140. CU: Same as #138.

141. MS: (LA) Sitting on the horse, the Otaman speaks.

142. T: "Let no enemy's foot tread here! Let the treasures lie in peace!"

143. MS: Like #141. The Otaman turns his horse and rides away.

144. MS: The grandfather tries unsuccessfully to mount his horse.

145. MS: Reverse shot to #144. The grandfather tries again to mount the horse. The frame freezes.

146. T: Centuries passed. People were born and died--trains passed over Ukrainian plains. -But the hills and forests and rivers of Zvenigora kept Grandfather's secret.

147. LS: A reflection of trees in water. A static shot with trees forming vertical lines.

148. LS: A reflection of trees in water. A leaf on the surface of the water.

149. LS: A river bank. Women dressed in Ukrainian traditional dress have their backs to the camera. Two of them walk towards the river bank.

150. MS: A young woman in a boat takes a wreath off her head and places it on the surface of the water. She intensely watches how the wreath is taken away by the stream.

151. LS: Women sit on the river bank and make waves in the water.

152. MS: A wreath drifts on the water along the frame diagonal.

153. LS: A group of women dances at a fire. Smoke covers most of the frame.

154. MS: A river bank with rushes.

155. MS: Women dance. They hold hands and move rapidly in chain from L to R. Smoke.

156. MS: The grandfather moves carefully through the rushes towards the camera.

157. T: Progress everywhere--

158. MS: Wreaths, taken by the river, move from the top to the bottom of the frame.

159. T: --watched by Oksana

160. CU: Like #150 but closer. Oksana watches intensely something ahead of her. She moves her body to have a better look.

161. MS: Like #158.

162. LS: The grandfather hides in the rushes.

163. MS: A wreath on the water.

164. CU: The grandfather catches something in the rushes.

165. CU: Terror on Oksana's face.

166. LS: The river bank. The women watch the wreaths. Two more women rush towards the bank to have a better look.

167. T: In the midsummer night to-centuries, year after year Grandfather's old lips divined the maiden's fate - the fern blossomed in dark nights.

168. MS: The grandfather picks up the wreath, blows the candle on it and throws it angrily into the water. He disappears back in the rushes.

169. LS: Oksana at her boat on a beach. She slowly sits down with her head lowered. A group of women encircles Oksana; also with their heads lowered.

170. T: Grandfather had a grandson Pavlo

171. CU: An end of a straw on which a soap bubble forms.

172. CU: A young man watches the bubble.

173. CU: The grandfather sleeps.

174. T: Grandfather had a grandson Timoshko

175. MS. Another young man repairs a shoe by nailing it with a hammer.

176. MS: The grandfather waves his hands in sleep. The head of a monk superimposed in the centre of the frame.

177. CU: Like #172. Pavlo watches another bubble.

178. MS: Like #176. The monk speaks.

179. CU: Like #172.

180. MS: One of Pavlo's soap bubbles lands on the grandfather's face, and he wakes up.

181. MS: Tymish raises his head from his work and smiles.

182. MS: The grandfather gets up from his bed and crosses himself. He kneels down.

183. T: "Spit, boys! Spit three times a devil is in the hut."

184. MS: The grandfather gets up and moves quickly while crossing himself.

185. LS: The grandfather approaches the scared Pavlo. Both men cross themselves in front of an icon and bow to the ground.

186. MS: Like #181.

187. LS: The grandfather and Pavlo make the sign of the cross and look with surprise in Tymish's direction.

188. MS: The grandfather approaches Tymish who continues his work.

189. T: "Make the Sign of the Cross - plague on you - make the Sign of the Cross - the devil is in the hut - I tell you- make the Sign of the Cross."

190. MS: Continuously crossing himself, the grandfather talks to Tymish who carries on his work. The grandfather turns back to look at Pavlo.

191. CU: Pavlo makes the sign of the cross and then laughs.

192. MS: The grandfather turns his back on Tymish, who continues his work without paying any attention.

Fade out
Fade in

193. LS: (HA) A field of grain waving in the wind.

Dissolve to:

194. LS: A vast flat field. A very low horizon.

195. LS: A flat field. A horizon slightly higher than #194. A line of telegraph poles disappearing towards the horizon.

Dissolve to:

196. MS: A man scythes grain with his back to the camera.

197. LS: A group of women cut straw with sickles.

198. MS: Two women bend down to cut straw with sickles. Their backs to the camera.

199. MS: A woman plays with a child in her arms.

200. CU: A head of a man scything straw.

201. LS: A row of man scything straw.

202. MS: Women washing clothes in the river.

203. MS: A woman washes clothes in the river with her back to the

camera.

204. MS: A family of five sit on the ground around a bowl of food.

205. CU: A man eating.

206. MS: A cow grazing.

207. LS: A herd of cows bathing in the river.

208. MS: A cow with a calf looking at the camera.

209. MS: A naked boy playing in shallow water.

210. CU: A cow gazes at the camera.

211. MS: Like # 209. A boy gets splashed and runs away.

212. CU: A cow chewing.

213. MS: A boy urinating with his back to the camera. He turns around and covers his eyes with his arms.

214. T: "You see, they would have lived and grown as corn in the fields - if only--"

215. MS: The interior of a bell tower. The heart of a bell moves rhythmically.

216. CU: The face of an old peasant woman looking upwards and whispering.

217. MS: The women interrupt their washing and rush away.

218. CU: The hart of the bell toiling.

219. MS: Men with scythes run across a field.

220. CU: A young woman looks up.

221. CU: Like # 218.

222. MS: (HA) A herd of cows running.

223. MS: Like #215.

224. LS: People run across a field.

225. CU: An infant crying.

226. CU: (LA) An old man's face.

227. MS: A ploughman with his horses stops and looks back.

228. CU: Like 215.

229. T: Many mothers wept for their sons, fallen on German soil and in the Ukraine.

230. MS: Peasant women weep and wipe their eyes.

231. CU: A woman weeps.

232. MS: A group of man dancing in a circle.

233. CU: A drunk man singing.

234. CU: A child is being lifted by a man. A child's bare bottom facing camera.

235. MS: Like #232.

236. CU: Like #234. The child is lowered down and kissed.

237. MS: Women weep.

238. MS: Like 232.

239. CU: Two children in front of an adult.

240. LS: A procession of recruits pass a village crowd.

241. CU: An old man crosses himself and gives a blessing.

242. MS: Recruits walk L to R.

243. MS: Recruits walk away from the camera.

244. MS: The villagers walk towards the camera.

245. MS: The villagers walk towards the camera. Two dancing recruits are followed by musicians and recruits singing.

246. MS: A woman runs up to a middle-aged recruit. They hug.

247. CU: A woman weeps.

248. MS: The grandfather gets to the front of a group of villagers.

249. CU: The grandfather speaks.

250. T: "Nation after nation, country after country revolted. An enemy of the human race rules over us -"

251. MS: A group of people watch.

252. LS: A group of recruits goes away. One of the recruits throws his backpack on the ground and then throws himself on the ground.

Fade out
Fade in

253. LS: Sheafs of wheat in the field.

Dissolve to:

254. LS: Rifles arranged like sheafs in #253.

Slow fade to black

255. MS: The grandfather and Pavlo walk down the hill. The grandfather carries a shovel.

256. MS: The grandfather stops at a tree stump and marks the ground with his shovel. He calls his grandson and shows him something.

257. CU: Pavlo crosses himself.

258. MS: The grandfather and Pavlo sit down on the ground. Pavlo removes an icon from his bag, and the grandfather crosses himself in front of it and places it down on the ground against the tree stump.

259. MS: The grandfather puts three plates in front of the icon.

260. CU: Pavlo looks surprised.

261. MS: The grandfather places three candles on the plates.

262. MS: The grandfather makes the sign of the cross on the ground with two sticks. He begins to measure the ground with his steps.

263. MS: The grandfather stops and looks at his grandson.

264. T: "You see, the treasure is here."

265. MS: Like #263. The grandfather points to the ground and starts digging.

266. CU: The grandfather digs the soil.

267. T: Dogs are not fed when taken hunting. They build road when they are at war.

268. LS: A group of riders on horseback crosses a bridge.

269. LS: A construction site. Horse-driven carts carry soil.

270. LS: The carts line up and move from the bottom to the top of the screen.

271. MS: A group of workers on a platform.

272. MS: A single worker on a platform.

273. CU: The grandfather talks to a group of workers surrounding him.

274. T: Treasures should not be buried. Roads are not build with unclean hands. Zvenigora are not vanquished.

275. CU: Like #273.

Dissolve to:

276. MS: The grandfather talks to a group of workers surrounding him.

277. MS: A horse going up a hill struggles with a heavy load. Workers help him by pushing the cart.

278. MS: Workers push the cart up the hill.

279. LS: Loaded carts cross the screen.

280. MS: A group of workers lean on their shovels and look up.

281. MS: A man walks on a board suspended in the air. Another man follows him trying to keep his balance.

282. MS: Like #280. One of the workers raises his fist. They go back to work.

283. MS: A worker loads a cart. He is seen through the legs of the horse.

284. MS: The grandfather talks to a group of workers surrounding him.

Fade out

285. T: At daybreak on Sunday.

286. LS: A lake shore with rushes.

287. MS: A hole in the ground. The grandfather and Pavlo emerge from the hole carrying dirt in bags. They disappear back into the hole.

288. LS: A woman approaches the excavation, and when she sees two man emerging from it she runs away.

289. MS: Pavlo emerges from the hole to dispose of a bag of dirt; the grandfather follows him.

290. MS: Pavlo looks up and sees something in a distance.

291. LS: A group of riders on horses goes up the hill.

292. MS: The scared Pavlo runs back into the hole.

293. LS: The riders led by a fat officer go down the hill.

294. CU: The grandfather and Pavlo crammed in the hole.

295. MS: Two soldiers help the fat officer his horse.

296. MS: The officer and his assistant approach the hole.

297. CU: (LA) The officer.

298. MS: The grandfather crawls out of the hole. He can be seen through the legs of the officer.

299. CU: (LA) The officer.

300. MS: Like #298. The grandfather talks and grabs the officer's boots.

301. T: "Your Most Serene, Most Gracious, Most Righteous, Most Honorable - Stop - The treasure will be spoiled."

302. CU: The grandfather holds on to the officer's boots.

303. CU: The scared Pavlo looks on.

304. CU: The officer tries to free himself and pushes the grandfather away.

305. CU: The scared Pavlo moves back and takes his hat off.

306. CU: (LA) The officer's face.

307. T: "You, Grandfather, are a real engineer. But digging is forbidden."

308. CU: Like #306. The officer speaks.

309. MS: The officer turns to his assistant and speaks.

310. T: "Chase the old man away. Set up a guard."

311. CU: The assistant salutes and walks away.

312. CU: The grandfather sits down and falls asleep.

Fade out

313. T: Timoshko planned - And Cossack Planned -

314. MS: A military trench with sleeping soldiers. One of the soldiers moves around.

315. MS: A military trench. A group of soldiers talking. They get up and gather at one point to look at something.

316. MS: A German soldier emerges from a trench and looks around.

317. T: "Halt! Who's there?"

318. MS: Like #316. Three German soldiers aim their rifles.

319. LS: Tymish in uniform crosses a field with barbed wire.

320. MS: He approaches a trench where there are three German soldiers who aim rifles at him. Tymish extends his hand to the Germans. They put aside their rifles and shake hands with Tymish.

Fade out
Fade in

321. MS: Military headquarters. A group of officers enters a room and salute.

322. MS: Someone is sleeping under a soldier's coat.

323. CU: An old officer in front of a group salutes and explains something.

324. MS: Like #322. A head with a moustache emerges from under the coat.

325. T: "It cannot be! Stop!"

326. CU: Like #323. The old soldier is scared.

327. CU: A wounded officer in the group salutes.

328. MS: Like #324. The moustached head retreats under its cover.

329. MS: Three soldiers salute.

330. MS: The moustached commander gets up and picks up a phone receiver. He pounds the table with the receiver and speaks.

331. T: "I shall speak to them myself. I shall perform a miracle."

332. MS: Like #329. Scared soldiers move back while saluting.

333. MS: Like #330. The angry commander speaks.

Fade out
Fade in

334. LS: The commander with a cane leads the officers down a sandy hill.

335. LS: The commander walks along the group of soldiers.

336. CU: The commander speaks.

337. T: "Ho, lads." (larger font)

338. CU: Like #336. The commander is surprised.

339. CU: One of the soldiers scratches his beard and smiles.

340. CU: The face of another bearded soldier in profile. A drop of sweat runs down his cheek.

341. CU: The surprised commander repeats his greeting.

342. T: "Ho, lads." (larger font)

343. MS: The soldiers look ahead while smoking and chewing.

344. CU: The commander looks around and speaks again.

345. T: "Hail, eagles."

346. CU: Like #344.

347. MS: Tymish emerges from the group of soldiers and approaches the commander.

348. CU: Tymish looks down at the commander and speaks.

349. T: "Hail, eagles -"

350. CU: Like #348.

351. CU: The scared commander tries to speak.

352. MS: Rapid camera movement across the line of the soldiers. It stops on one of them.

353. CU: Like #351.

354. LS: The officers order the soldiers to line up.

355. CU: An officer salutes, reports something and goes away.

356. MS: The officer rips off military emblems from Tymish's uniform

and hat. Tymish looks down.

357. CU: Tymish raises his head and speaks.

358. T: "Your Excellency, an ex-Knight of the Order of St. George requests permission to give the order himself for his own execution."

359. CU: Like #357.

360. MS: The commander leans on his cane and looks ahead.

361. CU: Like #357. Tymish takes off his hat, arranges his hair, puts his hat back on and speaks.

362. T: "At the one who stands before you -"

363. MS: Soldiers stand at attention.

Jump cut

364. MS: Soldiers stand at attention.

365. CU: Tymish stands at attention and gives an order.

366. T: "Fire by platoon -"

367. LS: Tymish stands in front of the platoon.

368. MS: The soldiers get their rifles into ready position.

369. CU: Like #365.

370. T: "P - l -a - t - o - o -n -"

371. LS: Like #367. The soldiers aim their rifles.

372. CU: Like #365. Tymish raises his arm.

373. T: "Aim!" (Large)

374. MS: A row of rifles in horizontal position. One rifle lines up slowly with the rest.

375. MS: Tymish with his right arm requests the soldiers to lower their rifles slightly.

376. CU: A soldier lowers his rifle.

377. MS: Like #375. Tymish stands at attention.

378. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

379. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

380. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

381. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

382. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

383. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

384. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

385. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

386. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

387. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

388. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

389. CU: The face of a soldier aiming a rifle.

390. MS: Like #375. Tymish yells the order.

391. T: "Fire!" (large)

392. CU: The face of a soldier.

393. CU: The face of a soldier.

394. CU: The face of the commander.

395. MS: like #375. Tymish stands at attention.

396. MS: A soldier steps out in front of the platoon and throws down his rifle. Other soldiers lower their rifles.

397. MS: Like 375. Tymish takes a cigarette from his pocket and lights it. He spits and exits the frame to the right.

398. MS: The commander shakingly leans on his cane. When Tymish stands in front of him, he falls down dead. Tymish calmly smokes his cigarette.

Dissolve to:

399. CU: A rifle driven into the sand.

Fade out
Fade in

400. LS: A guard walks on a platform.

401. MS: The guard leans against a post.

402. MS: Two men creep up.

403. MS: Like #401. The guard takes a nap.

404. MS: Three men, unnoticed by the guard, carry a box.

405. LS: The men disappear under the platform.

Fade out.

406. LS: A tall steel construction looking like a part of a bridge.

407. MS: The fat officer on a white horse waves his arm speaking.

408. T: "My hand creates miracles."

409. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

410. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

411. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

412. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

413. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

414. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

415. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

416. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

417. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

418. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

419. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

420. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

421. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

422. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

423. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

424. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

425. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

426. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

427. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

428. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

429. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

430. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

431. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

432. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

433. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

434. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

435. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

436. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

437. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

438. MS: An explosion. The steel structure of a bridge crushes.

439. MS: A cargo train follows a tracking camera. Soldiers singing.

440. MS: Workers come out of a tunnel.

441. CU: One of the workers stops and shouts.

442. MS: Soldiers sing on a moving train.

443. MS: A worker comes out of a tunnel.

444. CU: A worker crawls.

445. MS: A group of workers emerges from a tunnel.

446. MS: A train speeds across the frame R to L.

447. MS: (HA) Workers run from the bottom to the top of the frame.

448. CU: Tymish stands with his rifle. Workers pass him running L to R.

449. MS: (HA) Tymish turns around. Workers pass him running from the top to the bottom of the frame. Tymish joins the crowd.

450. MS: A Moving train. Soldiers sit on its roof.

451. LS: Two parallel flights of stairs. Soldiers run down and up.

452. MS: Soldiers run down the stairs.

453. CU: A statue of a man on a horse.

454. MS: (HA) Soldiers run from the top to the bottom of the frame.

455. CU: Rifles shooting through the stair rails.

456. CU: The face of a soldier shooting a rifle.

457. LS: A train crosses the frame from R to L.

458. MS: A train crosses the frame R to L.

459. MS: An explosion. Smoke.

460. MS: An old bearded man (looking like a rabbi) speaks. Heavy smoke encloses him and he disappears.

461. MS: A train speeds from L to R.

462. LS: The grandfather climbs a hill.

463. MS: Pavlo helps the grandfather to sit down on the grass. The grandfather speaks.

464. T: "In rebellion nation rose against nation, country against country, brother against brother. Sit down, my only consolation and hope."

465. MS: The grandfather and Pavlo sitting on the grass. The grandfather speaks.

466. T: "Listen to a secret. A great treasure is hidden here in

Zvenigora - in ancient time when strangers walked our lands, they were led by military men."

467. CU: Pavlo listens.

468. CU: The grandfather raises his cane with both hands and speaks.

469. T: "People lived in villages as we do - there was a girl by the name of Roksana -"

470. LS: A group of armed ancient warriors crosses the frame from R to L.

471. MS: A frightened young woman gets up.

472. LS: She runs. Then she stops and looks around. She exits to the left.

473. MS: She enters a room and hits a metal bar as an alarm.

474. MS: The grandfather is awaken by the sound of the alarm.

475. MS: Like #473. She hits the alarm repeatedly.

476. MS: Two Cossacks emerge and hide again.

477. MS: A Cossack jumps out of his hiding place and runs away. The grandfather leads a group of armed Cossacks.

478. LS: The grandfather leads a group of men and oxen pulling a large boat.

479. MS: Roksana speaks to a group of warriors while waving her arms.

480. MS: Armed ancient soldiers cross the screen from R to L.

481. MS: Like #479. Roksana points to the right.

482. MS: Ancient soldiers kill with their swords.

483. MS: The soldiers raise their swords and continue to kill mechanically.

484. MS: A haidamaka soldier tries to kill an ancient soldier who shields himself. The ancient soldier raises his sword and kills the haidamaka.

485. MS: The haidamaka soldiers fight ancient soldiers.

486. MS: Ancient soldiers kill.

487. MS: The grandfather kills.

488. MS. Like #486.

489. MS: Like #487.

490. MS: Like #486.

491. MS: Like #487.

492. MS: Ancient soldiers kill.

493. MS: The grandfather tells the story.

494. MS: The grandfather hits a row of armoured ancient soldiers, and they all fall to the ground like dominos.

495. MS: A group of warriors pull a rope.

496. MS: The grandfather swings a pole and kills a row of armoured soldiers.

497. LS: A battle.

498. MS: The battle moves from L to R.

499. CU: Roksana watches.

500. MS: Prisoners are led by soldiers.

501. CU: Roksana closes her eyes in pain.

502. LS: Prisoners in yoke move from R to L.

503. LS: Prisoners in yoke move from R to L.

504. MS: Pavlo listens to the story.

Fade out
Fade in

505. MS: The grandfather and Pavlo sit on a hill, and the grandfather tells a story.

506. T: "Cattle died and people died and the leader decided to stop at Zvenigora to collect tribute-"

507. LS: A man stands in a boat.

508. T: "Free the people!"

509. LS: Like #507.

510. MS: A lineup of people each throwing something to the ground while stopping at the line of guards.

511. MS: Several men look down eagerly.

512. MS: Roksana takes off her jewellery and suddenly throws the knife to the right.

513. MS: Like #511. The men turn their heads to the right.

514. MS: The man on the boat removes the knife from his chest and throws it away.

515. MS: Roksana raises her arms and falls to the ground.

516. MS: Like #514. The man points to something with his finger.

517. T: "Shield!"

518. MS: Two men pick up Roksana from the ground and carry her high on their extended arms.

519. LS: The men bring Roksana to the boat.

520. MS: (LA) The grandfather tells the story.

521. T: "Roksana betrayed her nation. She fell in love with the foreign leader - but not for long-"

522. MS: (LA) Pavlo listens.

523. MS: Roksana serves a drink for the leader and puts her head on his lap.

524. LS: Prisoners in yoke pull something.

525. MS: Like #523. While the man drinks, Roksana runs to the back of the room.

526. LS: Like #524. The prisoners are rushed by the guards.

527. MS: Roksana looks through the window.

528. MS: The leader stops drinking, looks to the right and speaks.

529. MS: Like #527. Roksana walks slowly towards the camera.

530. LS: A child shoots an arrow at a warrior and is then killed by the warrior.

531. MS: Roksana serves another drink for the leader. Then she chokes him with her arms. He falls to the ground.

532. CU. Roksana raises her head while looking down.

533. MS: Like #531. Roksana gets up and walks away to the left.

534. MS: Roksana emerges from under the ground and waves her arms.

535. MS: The prisoners, including the grandfather, fight the guards.

536. LS: Roksana on the boat.

537. LS: The grandfather with a helper kills the guard.

538. LS: Like #536. A battle in front of the boat.

539. MS: The grandfather tries to fight a soldier but is captured and killed.

540. LS: Roksana waves her arms standing on the boat. The leader emerges behind her and also waves his arms.

541. MS: The grandfather tells the story.

542. T: "With a terrible word he cursed Roksana and the treasures-"

543. LS: The boat and the battle going on in front of it sink down.

544. MS. The grandfather and Pavlo. The grandfather speaks and points

with his arm.

545. T: "Where Roksana fell a lake was formed by the spreading waters - The earth collapsed and became a ravine -"

546. MS: Pavlo listens.

547. MS: The grandfather speaks.

548. T: "Her hair became rustling reeds, her eyes became wells and caves. Our race has a treasure - we know the secret."

549. LS: A ravine.

Slow Dissolve to:

550. MS: The grandfather speaks, looks to the left and gets up.

551. LS: The grandfather emerges from the woods and approaches Pavlo in uniform painting his horse white.

552. MS: Pavlo speaks waving his arms.

553. T: Watch out, beloved village Pavlo attacks on a white horse.

Fade out

554. MS: Two soldiers on black horses. One falls off the horse, and the other rides away.

555. MS: Shadows of three soldiers on a white wall.

556. CU: A soldier's arm holding a rifle.

557. MS: Like #555.

558. LS: Two soldiers run along a fence.

559. MS: Two men get up from the ground and run away from the camera.

560. LS: A horse runs along a village road R to L.

561. LS: Soldiers attack in formation.

562. MS: A reflection of soldiers moving on a bridge right to left. They stop in the middle and retreat.

563. LS: Riders on horses move towards the camera in smoke and dust.

564. MS: A heavy gun shells.

565. MS. A woman runs into a room, kneels in front of an icon, and prays.

566. MS: Frightened cows.

567. MS: Riders on horses move quickly along the fence L to R.

568. MS: A woman enters a house and shuts the doors.

569. MS: Like #567.

570. MS: (HA) A woman and a child hide in a shelter.

571. MS: A gun shells.

572. MS: A gun shells.

573. MS: Another gun shells.

574. MS: A soldier shooting.

575. MS: Another soldier shoots.

576. MS: Another soldier shoots a rifle.

577. MS: A soldier shoots.

578. MS: A soldier shoots.

579. MS: A soldier shoots.

580. MS: A soldier shoots.

581. MS: A soldier shoots.

582. MS: A soldier shoots.

583. MS: A heavy gun shells.

584. MS: A soldier shoots a rifle.

585. MS: Another soldier shoots a rifle.

586. MS: A woman holds an icon in front of her.

587. MS: A soldier shoots.

588. LS: Soldiers on horses ride towards the camera in dust.

589. LS: Men with rifles pass through the fence.

590. LS: Soldiers on horses in dust.

591. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

592. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

593. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

594. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

595. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

596. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

597. LS: Like #590.

598. LS: Like #589. A man shoots a rifle.

599. LS: Like #590.

600. LS: Riders on horses move quickly from R to L.

601. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

602. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

603. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

604. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

605. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

606. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

607. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

608. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

609. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

610. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

611. LS: Like #590.

612. LS: Soldiers run behind a fence from R to L.

613. LS: An empty village road.

614. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

615. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

616. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

617. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

618. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

619. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

620. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

621. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

622. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

623. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

624. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

625. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

626. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

627. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

628. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

629. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

630. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

631. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

632. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

633. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

634. MS: A heavy gun-barrel.

635. MS: Frightened cattle.

636. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

637. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

638. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

639. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

640. MS: A man shoots a rifle.

641. MS: A heavy gun fires.

642. MS: Similar to #641 but closer.

643. MS: Similar to #642 but closer.

644. LS: A group of soldiers on horseback move towards the camera.

645. LS: A group of soldiers on horseback move away from the camera.

646. LS: A burning hill.

647. MS: Pavlo looks around with satisfaction.

Fade out

648. T: Before the sun has risen Red partisans departed from the village leaving it at the mercy of bandit Pavlo.

649. LS: A large group of riders go away from the camera. A woman waving her arms follows them.

650. LS: A burning house. People in front of it try to extinguish the fire.

651. T: "Go back!"

652. MS: A woman tries to stop Tymish, who is in uniform and rides a horse. She speaks the entire time. (TS)

653. T: "I will not go back, my dear Timoshko, I cannot go back."

654. MS: Similar to #652. The woman manages to get in front of the horse and hold it.

655. CU: The woman speaks while holding the horse and looking up.

656. MS: Legs of moving horses.

657. MS: (LA) Tymish looks down and speaks angrily.

658. T: "Go back, crazy woman; I'll be angry!"

659. MS: Like #657.

660. MS: (HA) The woman struggles to hold the horse.

661. LS: The rest of the riders disappear behind the curve.

662. MS: Like #657.

663. LS: Like #661. The last rider in the group stops, turns around and shouts waving his arm.

664. T: "Come on! Leave the woman alone!"

665. LS: Like #661. The soldier turns his horse around.

666. MS: A rider on the horse seen from behind.

667. LS: Like #661. More riders disapper behind the curve.

668. MS: (HA) The woman tries to hold Tymish.

669. T: "Strike me dead, Timoshko. I cannot return! Timoshko! Kill me or come back!"

670. CU: (HA) The woman's face.

671. MS: Like #668. Tymish bends to hug the woman.

672. MS: Tymish hugs and kisses the woman.

673. MS: Like #661.

674. MS: Like #668. Tymish returns to an upright position on the horse.

675. CU: (HA) The woman's face.

676. MS: Tymish aims the rifle at the woman.

677. CU: Like #675.

678. CU: Tymish aims the rifle (seen in profile).

679. CU: The woman (in semi profile).

680. CU: Like #678.

681. CU: Like #679.

682. MS: A horse's legs move R to L.

683. MS: The woman's shadow on the ground. She raises her arms and falls to the ground.

684. LS: Tymish rides his horse away from the camera.

Fade out
Fade in

685. LS: A crowd of soldiers.

686. MS: (LA) An officer speaking.

687. LS: (HA) A part of the crowd.

688. CU: A soldier in a fur hat.

689. MS: A soldier in the crowd bends down.

690. MS: Like #686.

691. T: "The Revolution is in danger!"

692. MS: Boots of soldiers standing in a puddle.

693. MS: (HA) The soldier in the fur hat threatens a soldier standing beside him.

694. CU: The soldier in the fur hat turns his head.

695. CU: The officer speaks.

696. MS: (HA) The soldier from shot #693 reacts to the soldier in the fur hat but is stopped by another soldier.

697. T: "The Revolution is in danger!"

698. MS: Like #696.

699. CU: Like #695. The officer turns his head to the camera.

700. T: "To horse, Proletarians."

701. CU: Like #699.

702. MS: (HA) The soldiers begin to walk away.

703. MS: (LA) The officer speaks while waving his fist.

704. T: "Proletarians - to the machines! Stoke the furnaces! More fire!"

705. MS: Like #703.

706. LS: A container moves along an arm of a crane. (Double exposed image)

Fade to white.

707. MS: The feet of soldiers walking on a muddy road.

708. LS: Industrial buildings, smoke stacks.

709. MS: A miner at work.

710. MS: Wheels of a cart moving L to R.

711. LS: Soldiers marching L to R.

712. MS: A glowing opening of a furnace at a steel mill.

713. LS: A steel mill.

714. MS: Like #710. The cart moves from R to L.

715. MS: Like #709.

716. MS: A hot steel bar moving on a conveyer.

717. MS: A hammer flattens steel.

718. MS: A miner at work.

719. MS: Three men work with shovels.

720. LS: Liquid steel flowing.

721. MS: Like #709.

722. MS: A worker pushes a cart R to L.

723. MS: Another miner at work.

724. MS: Something moves from L to R.

725. T: "The Revolution is in danger!"

726. MS: Like #723.

727. LS: An industrial building.

728. LS: The production floor of a steel mill.

729. MS: Like #718.

730. MS: A mechanical hammer hits a hot steel bar.

731. MS: A miner at work.

732. MS: Like #730.

733. MS: A boot of a working miner.

734. LS: Like #728.

735. MS: Two workers hammering.

736. LS: Like #728.

737. MS: Like #733.

738. MS: Like #730.

739. MS: Like #731.

740. MS: Like #718.

741. LS: White hot steel.

742. MS: Workers at the steel mill.

743. MS: Like #731.

744. MS: Like #730.

745. MS: A man scything.

746. MS: Like #730.

747. MS: Like #745.

748. MS: Like #742.

749. MS: Like #730.

750. LS: Like #728.

751. LS: A man loads the hay.

752. MS: Like #730.

753. MS: Two men cut lumber.

754. MS: Like #735.

755. LS: (LA) A train moves on a bridge.

756. MS: A worker at the steel mill.

757. MS: A sheet of steel on a conveyer.

758. MS: A miner at work.

759. LS: Liquid steel being poured.

760. LS: A line of carts pushed by workers.

761. MS: The grandfather emerges from a hole in the ground.

762. MS: The grandfather sits on a small hill and looks at a sword.

763. T: "Ah, it was some time ago."

764. MS: Like #762.

Fade out

765. T: Meanwhile the refugee Cossack walks in Prague, sweeping the streets with baggy trousers.

766. LS: (HA) A busy street with car traffic.

767. MS: Pavlo walks towards the camera. A crowd of people follows him. (TS)

768. T: And Timosh? At workers' high school, he tries to find in figures and formulas of science the true secret of Zvenigora - the secret of the riches of the Ukraine.

769. MS: Tymish writes on a blackboard with his back to the camera.

770. MS: Two men sit at the table and take notes.

771. MS: (LA) A teacher lectures.

772. MS: A group of students take notes.

773. MS: A student in a group listens.

774. MS: Tymish at the board.

775. MS: An industrial hammer at work.

776. MS: Like #774.

Fade out.

777. LS: A city square.

778. MS: A sign on a building.

Dissolve to:

779. MS: A bearded worker.

780. MS: Two workers in profile.

781. LS: A crowd gathered in front of a building.

782. MS: People in the crowd.

783. CU: A man in the crowd.

784. CU: Another man looking down.

785. MS: A smiling woman with a child.

786. LS: An industrial landscape.

Dissolve to :

787. LS: A power station.

Dissolve to:

788. LS: The same building closer.

789. LS: An industrial construction site.

Dissolve to:

790. MS: A detail of an industrial construction.

791. MS: A big crane moving.

792. LS: The industrial construction site.

Dissolve to:

793. LS: (LA) A high rise building under construction.

794. LS: The camera lifts up through a building under construction.

795. LS: A large container moves along a beam from R to L.

796. MS: Carts pushed by workers move from R to L.

797. MS: A locomotive moves towards the camera.

798. MS: A load on a crane moves towards the camera.

799. MS: Two workers load a cart.

800. LS: (LA) Workers shovelling.

801. LS: Beams in an industrial building.

802. LS: Two workers carry sand from R to L. A man walks from L to R. A container moves away from the camera.

803. LS: (LA) A train passes a bridge.

804. LS: The interior of a steel mill.

805. LS: A glowing liquid metal.

806. LS: Like #804. A man at work. The camera pans slightly to the left.

807. LS: Sparks and flames in a steel mill.

808. LS: A container moves L to R along a beam.

809. MS: Three workers load a truck.

810. LS: An industrial building.

811. MS: A magnetic crane moves a load of scrap metal R to L.

812. LS: Glowing liquid steel.

813. LS: Flowing liquid steel.

814. LS: Workers at a steel mill.

815. MS: Liquid steel coming out of the furnace.

816. LS: Interior of a steel mill.

817. MS: Flowing liquid steel.

818. LS: Boiling metal.

819. CU: A worker wipes his face.

820. MS: Like #817.

821. LS: The interior of a steel mill.

822. MS: A worker at the furnace.

823. LS: Workers shovelling.

824. LS: Boiling metal.

825. MS: Liquid metal poured into castings.

826. MS: A row of workers pushing something L to R.

827. MS: A part of machinery moving down.

828. LS: A crane moves R to L.

829. MS: (LA) A worker.

830. MS: A cart is pushed by a worker R to L.

831. MS: (LA) A train on a bridge.

832. MS: A cart is pushed by a worker R to L.

833. MS: A cart is pushed by a worker R to L.

834. MS: A heavy tractor moves towards the camera.

835. MS: A spinning wheel of a machine.

836. MS: The tractor moves away from the camera.

837. MS: Two women work in the fields.

838. MS: Carts pushed by workers move R to L.

839. MS: A pair of oxen and a woman move R to L.

840. MS: Two workers lift something.

841. MS: Carts pushed by workers move R to L.

842. MS: Like #840. The workers pull a cart.

843. MS: A spinning propeller of an airplane.

844. MS: A worker at a steel mill.

845. MS: Flowing liquid metal.

846. LS: Flowing liquid metal.

847. LS: Workers at a steel mill.

Dissolved to:

848. LS: People work around a grain separator.

849. MS: A worker at a machine with his back to the camera.

850. MS: A worker at a steel mill.

851. CU: A face of an older worker.

852. MS: Workers at a steel mill.

853. MS: A worker at a steel mill.

854. LS: A grain separator at work.

855. MS: A worker at a machine.

856. MS: Two women raking by the grain separator.

857. LS: Straw moving on a conveyor belt.

858. MS: Machines at a factory.

859. MS: Youth marching in a parade from L to R.

860. LS: A factory.

861. MS: A rotating part of a machine.

862. LS: Two heavy tractors leave a garage.

863. MS: A bull.

864. MS: A tractor moves from L to R.

865. MS: A head of a horse.

866. MS: A head of a cow.

867. MS: Like #864.

868. MS: A horse held by a harness.

869. MS: Two oxen decorated with flowers move towards the camera.

870. MS: People carrying sheafs of grain follow the oxen from L to R.

871. MS: Young men in sports uniforms move R to L.

872. MS: Young women in sport uniforms move R to L.

873. MS: Like #871.

874. MS: Like #872.

875. MS: A man and a woman carry a sign. They move L to R.

876. MS: Two tractors move L to R.

877. MS: Men in sport uniforms march R to L.

878. MS: A man and a woman carrying a sheaf of wheat move towards the camera.

879. LS: A production floor of a factory. (TS)

880. T: Prague - Paris - Poltava -

881. LS: Street lights at night. (TS)

882. LS: A neon billboard advertising cigarettes.

883. LS: Street lights at night. (TS)

884. LS: A neon windmill spinning.

885. MS: A merry-go-round.

886. MS: (HA) Well dressed people force their way to a building.

887. MS: A porter holds the doors closed.

888. T: The Duke of Ukraine will read a lecture on the destruction of the Ukraine by Bolsheviks. After the lecture...

889. MS: A man pushes the glass door from the outside.

890. T: ...he will shoot himself with his own revolver before the eyes of a respectable audience.

891. MS: People push the door while arguing.

892. MS: Like #886. The door opens and the crowd moves in.

893. MS: (HA) The crowd moves towards the camera.

894. MS: (LA) People sit on a balcony of a theatre.

895. MS: People in the audience talking.

896. MS: A man in the audience.

897. MS: Two men in the audience talking.

898. MS: A man in the audience talks to people seated beside him.

899. MS: People in the audience lean forward to see something.

900. LS: Pavlo walks towards the front of the stage and bows.

901. MS: Faces in the audience.

902. MS: Faces in the audience.

903. LS: Like #900.

904. MS: People in the audience lean forward.

905. MS: Like #894.

906. MS: Pavlo at the speaker's podium.

907. T: "Ladies and gentlemen - I thank you very much for your attention. I know that you are not interested in the Ukraine, or Bolsheviks - especially the ladies - therefore I shall not keep you waiting any longer-"

908. MS: Like #906.

909. MS: People in the audience.

910. MS: People in the audience.

911. LS: People in the audience lean forward.

912. MS: A woman in the audience looks through the theatre glasses.

913. MS: Pavlo speaks and gestures.

914. MS: A woman in the audience smiles.

915. MS: Like #913.

916. MS: A man in the audience.

917. MS: Like #913.

918. MS: People in the audience talking to each other.

919. MS: Pavlo walks out from behind the speaker's podium.

920. LS: City lights. (TS)

921. LS: Bright city lights.

922. T: "Ladies and gentlemen - thank you very much, I am finished."

923. MS: Like #919. Pavlo bows and removes something from his pocket.

924. MS: A woman in the audience watches with excitement.

925. MS: Like #919. Pavlo holds a gun.

926. MS: A woman in the audience watches with excitement.

927. LS: Women in the audience cover their ears.

928. MS: A man laughs.

929. MS: Like #919. Pavlo raises the gun to his temple.

930. MS: A man shouts from his balcony.

931. MS: Like #926.

932. MS: Like #914.

933. MS: Like #919.

934. MS: A man in the audience smiles.

935. MS: Like #919.

936. MS: Like #934.

937. MS: Like #914.

938. MS: Like #919. Pavlo puts the gun down and speaks.

939. T: "Excuse me - I forgot to tell -"

940. MS: An angry woman in the audience stands up.

941. MS: A man in the audience.

942. MS: Pavlo speaks behind the speaker's podium.

943. MS: A collage of speaking faces from the audience.

944. MS: Pavlo aims the gun at his temple.

945. MS: A woman in the audience.

946. MS: A man on the balcony.

947. MS: A bold man in the audience speaks.

948. MS: A young woman in the audience.

949. MS: Like #944. Pavlo puts down the gun and pours himself some water.

950. LS: People in the audience get up and shout angrily.

951. MS: Angry people in the audience.

952. MS: A man laughs.

953. MS: An angry man waves his arm.

954. MS: Angry people in the audience.

955. MS: (LA) People on the balcony express their anger.

956. LS: Pavlo on the stage.

957. MS: A man on the balcony.

958. LS: Pavlo aims the gun at his temple. Several men appear behind him.

959. LS: The disappointed audience.

960. MS: A disappointed young woman.

961. LS: Like #958. Pavlo is arrested by a soldier.

962. LS: The disappointed audience.

963. MS: A woman in the audience expresses her anger.

964. MS: An angry man on the balcony.

965. MS: Like #963. Several men help the woman.

966. MS: A woman faints.

967. MS: Like #963.

968. MS: A merry-go-round in accelerated motion.

969. LS: City lights. (TS)

970. MS: Pavlo and another man sit in the back seat of a car. Pavlo pulls out a bundle of banknotes from his pocket and speaks.

971. T: "$6000.00. Excellent. You now have a fund for a new expedition to find the treasure. We are sure that this time you will succeed."

972. MS: Like #970. Pavlo and the man shake hands.

973. MS: Pavlo laughs and then his face becomes serious.

Fade out.
Fade in

974. LS: A person stands on a bank of a river.

Dissolve to:

975. MS: The grandfather at the bank of the river.

976. MS: Pavlo emerges from the woods, hides behind a tree and whistles.

977. LS: Three men emerge from a wheat field and hide again.

978. MS: A man jumps from a cliff and whistles.

979. MS: Like #976. Pavlo hides behind the tree.

980. LS: Dark clouds move from R to L.

981. MS: The grandfather turns his head.

982. MS: Pavlo crouches with his back to the camera and speaks while turning his head to the left.

983. MS: Like #981. The grandfather looks to the right.

984. MS: The grandfather stares at the camera. Pavlo gets up behind him and speaks to him. He carries a package.

985. T: "The treasure is ours. Only hurry! Stop the fiery serpent that will crush your treasure under foot!"

986. MS: Like #984. Pavlo puts the package into the grandfather's hands and pushes him forward. Pavlo looks at his hands and then at his watch and puts his hands into pockets.

Fade out.

987. LS: Clouds move apart and let some light through.

988. MS: The grandfather crawls across the railway track while holding the package.

989. MS: Pavlo whistles, turns around and runs away.

990. MS: The grandfather digs a hole under the railway track.

991. LS: Headlights of a locomotive in the darkness.

992. MS: The grandfather removes a small box from the package and tries to place it in the hole. He notices something and runs towards the camera while making the sign of the cross.

993. LS: The grandfather runs along the tracks towards the camera. He stops and makes the sign of the cross with the box.

994. T: "Stop the evil force! Disappear - forever!"

995. LS: The grandfather runs towards the camera waving the box.

996. LS: The lights of the locomotive moving towards the camera.

997. MS: The grandfather runs along the tracks. (TS)

998. MS: Similar to #997 but closer.

999. LS: The train moves towards the camera.

1000. MS: The grandfather runs and shouts.

1001. T: "Fiery monster - stop!"

1002. MS: Like #1000.

1003. MS: Angry Pavlo.

1004. MS: The grandfather runs.

1005. LS: The lights of the locomotive.

1006. MS: The grandfather runs. (TS)

1007. MS: The lights of the locomotive.

1008. MS: The grandfather waves his arms.

1009. MS: The grandfather waves the box.

1010. LS: The locomotive moves quickly towards the camera.

1011. LS: Pavlo turns around several times and takes his hat off.

1012. T: Ladies and gentlemen, thank you, I have finished.

1013. LS: Like #1011. Pavlo pulls out a gun and shoots himself.

1014. MS: People approach the grandfather lying on the tracks in front of the locomotive.

1015. MS: People look down.

1016. MS: The grandfather is lifted from the ground.

1017. MS: Someone removes the box from the grandfathers clenched hand.

1018. MS: Tymish looks up, turns his head to the left and speaks.

1019. MS: A woman looks to the right and speaks.

1020. MS: Several men lift up the grandfather.

1021. LS: The men carry the grandfather.

1022. MS: Pavlo's body on the ground.

1023. MS: A man pours some tea and turns to the grandfather while speaking.

1024. MS: The grandfather looks to the left.

1025. MS: Like #1024. The man offers a cup to the grandfather.

1026. MS: Like #1025. The grandfather shakes his head.

1027. MS: Like #1026.

1028. MS: The woman sitting beside the grandfather speaks to him and the grandfather takes the cup from the man.

1029. MS: Like #1024. The men laugh.

1030. MS: Like #1029. The grandfather drinks from the cup and accepts some bread from the woman.

Fade out

1031. LS: (LA) The train passes above the camera.

1032. T: The End

APPENDIX II: *Arsenal*

1. LS: Barbed wire and poles forming the remains of military wire entanglements. Shot against clear sky. The composition takes less than 50% of the lower portion of the screen. The shot ends with an explosion in the foreground which blackens the screen.

2. T: There was a mother who had three sons -

Fade in

3. MS: A thin woman stands in the middle of an almost empty room. There are two windows in the background and a small table. The woman does not move.

4. T: There was a war.

5. LS: Open landscape. A tree in the background. A cloud of black and white smoke moves from right to left covering the entire screen.

6. MS: The heads of two sleeping soldiers in sheepskin hats move rapidly across a blurred background. (TR)

7. MS: Similar to #6. Shot from a different angle. The movement proceeds along the diagonal. (TR)

8. LS: A deserted military trench. Clouds of heavy smoke are moved by wind from L to R.

9. MS: A woman standing in a room. Motionless.

10. LS: Like #8.

11. LS: (LA) A cloud of smoke moving L to R.

12. LS: Like #8.

13. LS: A village street. A woman is standing in the foreground.

14. LS: A village street. Three women are standing motionless. A handicapped man crosses the street. He is followed by a child.

15. MS: A policeman walks along the street and stops and looks at a motionless woman leaning against a wall.

16. MS: The handicapped man crosses the frame from R to L. A small child follows him.

17. MS: The policeman looks at the woman, touches her and walks away.

18. T: And the mother had no sons-

19. LS: A ploughed field. A woman sows grain.

20. MS: The handicapped soldier sits on a floor in an empty room.

21. LS: Like #19.

22. CU: The tsar writes a letter.

23. MS: The woman sows grain.

24. MS: The woman sower moves away from the camera. She takes several steps and falls down.

25. CU: Like #22.

26. CU: A motionless worker in profile.

27. CU: Like #22.

28. CU: An over the shoulder shot of the tsar writing.

29. T: Letter: September 12th Today I shot a crow-

30. CU: The woman sower is lying on the ground.

31. CU: The tsar thinks for a moment and then continues writing.

32. T: Letter: September 12th Today I shot a crow- Splendid weather- Nikky

33. CU: The tsar finishes writing and puts his pen away.

34. CU: The face of the woman sower lying in the field.

Dissolve to

35. MS: A man standing in a field of wheat with his back to the camera.

Fade out
Fade in

36. CU: A turbine spinning.

37. MS: A row of artillery shells.

38. MS: A cylinder mounted in a lathe is being measured.

39. CU: A cylinder is machined in a lathe.

40. MS: A man without an arm pulls a skinny horse in a field and then stops.

41. CU: The man and his horse standing side by side.

42. MS: The interior of a house. Two small children tag a woman's skirt. She is standing motionless with her head down.

43. CU: The man without an arm stands with his head down.

44. CU: Similar to #42. (tighter framing)

45. CU: Like #43. The man bends down, picks up a straw from the ground and looks at it.

46. CU: A crying child holds onto the woman's skirt.

47. CU: The man's back.

48. CU: The man's front. He takes a rope between his teeth and raises the lash.

49. CU: The woman strikes blows with her hand.

50. 45. CU: Like #48. The man strikes blows with his lash.

51. CU: Like #49.

52. CU: Like #48.

53. CU: The woman strikes blows with her back to the camera.

54. CU: The man's face.

55. CU: Like #53.

56. CU: Like #48.

57. CU: Like #53.

58. LS: The man kicks the horse repeatedly while holding him; he falls down exhausted.

59. MS: The man lies on the ground and breathes heavily.

60. CU: A small child looks up while crying.

61. MS: The horse waves its tail.

62. CU: The man raises up his upper body and breathes heavily.

63. MS: Like #61. The horse turns its head to the camera.

64. T: *"You are wasting your blows on me, old man! I'm not what you need to strike at!"*

65. MS: Like #61.

66. MS: The man is lying on the ground.

67. MS: Like #61.

68. MS: The man gets up.

69. MS: The man approaches the horse slowly, picks up the rope from the ground and leads the horse away.

70. LS: The man with the horse walks away.

Fade out

71. LS: The military trench. An explosion.

72. LS: An explosion.

73. LS: An explosion.

74. LS: Barbed wire. Soldiers move in from R.

75. MS: Soldiers running from L to R behind a screen of smoke.

76. MS: A soldier runs from R to L.

77. MS: A group of soldiers jump into a trench.

78. CU: A German soldier takes off his gas mask and starts laughing.

79. T: "These gases - some of them make the heart gay!"

80. MS: A platoon of German soldiers marching from R to L.

81. CU: A German soldier laughing.

82. MS: Like #80.

83. CU: Like #81. The soldier's helmet falls off his head.

84. MS: Like #80.

85. CU: The bald head of the German soldier. He is staring at the camera.

86. CU: A hand sticking out of sand.

87. CU: The head of a dead soldier with a laughing face.

88. CU: Like #85. The soldier bursts out laughing.

89. MS: A German soldier runs and aims his bayonet ready to strike. He stops and drops his rifle.

90. T: "But where is the enemy?"

91. MS: Like #89.

92. LS: Soldiers on a train.

93. MS: Like #89. The soldier stands still.

94. LS: Soldiers run behind barbed wire.

95. MS: The soldier stands still (seen in profile). An officer approaches him from behind and aims a gun at his head.

96. MS: Like #80.

97. MS: Like #95. The officer and the soldier freeze.

98. LS: Soldiers march from L to R.

99. CU: The motionless soldier.

100. CU: The officer speaks while pointing his gun.

101. CU: Like #99.

102. CU: Like #100.

103. CU: Like #99.

104. CU: Like #100.

105. CU: Like #99.

106. CU: Like #100.

107. CU: Like #99.

108. CU: Like #100.

109. CU: Like #85.

110. LS: Soldiers move towards the camera.

111. MS: The soldier is lying dead. The officer puts back his gun, picks up the soldier's rifle and walks away.

Fade out
Fade in

112. T: The tide of war reaches the Ukraine.

113. MS: (HA) A crowd of soldiers pushing and shoving. High angle shot.

114. MS: Pushing and shoving soldiers try to board a train.

115. T: "Come on - pull off our Ukrainian boots!"

116. MS: A "Rada" soldier the pulls boots of a Red soldier.

117. T: "Take our Ukrainian coats, too!"

118. CU: The Rada soldier speaks angrily.

119. CU: The Red soldier is leaning against a train car.

120. CU: The Rada soldier speaks.

121. CU: Like #119. The soldier turns his head.

122. CU: The Rada soldier speaks.

123. T: "You've been torturing us for 300 years - you Russians!"

124. CU: Like #119. The soldier turns his head and speaks.

125. T: "Who - I?"

126. MS: A dead German soldier covered by sand.

127. MS: The Rada soldiers aim machine guns at the train. (TR)

Fade out

128. T: The tide reaches the post of Volyn.

129. MS: Tymish stands on the steps of a train car and speaks to a group of soldiers.

130. MS: A soldier wearing a fur hat speaks.

131. CU: A train engineer speaks.

132. CU: An angry face.

133. CU: Like #131.

134. T: "I can't carry you any farther, comrades. There's a steep downgrade just ahead, and the brakes aren't working."

135. CU: Like #131.

136. CU: A soldier turns his head.

137. CU: Another soldier steps forward.

138. T: "Aren't you going to carry us?"

139. Like #131. The engineer looks ahead.

140. T: "Aren't you going to carry us?" (larger)

141. CU: Similar to #139 (closer).

142. T: "Aren't you going to carry us?" (very large)

143. CU: Like #141. The barrel of a rifle points at the engineer's head. The engineer shakes his head. The gun withdraws.

144. CU: Tymish speaks.

145. T: "Take it easy, boys! We'll fix the brakes all right!"

146. MS: Tymish speaks to the soldiers.

147. LS: Rada soldiers run across the railway tracks.

148. MS: A Rada officer pulls out his sabre and his gun and shouts.

149. T: "In the name of the Ukrainian People's Republic, you are ordered to surrender your arms!"

150. CU: The Rada officer waves his sabre and gun while shouting angrily.

151. CU: A Red soldier mocks the Rada officer.

152. CU: Tymish gestures to his men.

153. CU: The Rada officer.

154. CU: Tymish.

155. T: "In the name of the Ukrainian people? Who said so?"

156. CU: Same as #150.

157. CU: Same as #151.

158. CU: Same as #152.

159. CU: Same as #153.

160. CU: Same as #154.

161. T: "In the name of the Ukrainian people? Who said so?"

162. CU: Like #153. The Rada officer shouts and waves his gun.

163. CU: Tymish looks up indifferently, ignoring the Rada officer.

164. MS: Rada soldiers bring in a machine gun.

165. CU: Like #163. Tymish glances to the side and turns his head.

166. CU: Tymish's hand gives a sign.

167. MS: The railway car doors open and Red soldiers roll out two machine guns.

168. MS: Another door opens and two machine guns roll out.

169. MS: Another door opens and two machine guns roll out.

170. MS: Another door opens and two machine guns roll out. The train starts moving.

171. MS: (LA) Soldiers on a moving train. One soldier plays the accordion. (TR)

172. T: "Keep it going!"

173. LS: The train moves along the diagonal of the screen, R to L.

174. MS: (LA) The train cars move R to L.

175. MS: (HA) The train engineer runs along the track. (TR)

176. CU: Two Red soldiers at the train engine controls.

177. T: "Keep it going!"

178. CU: The accordion is being played on a moving train car. (TR)

179. CU: A Red soldier is sleeping while hugging his rifle. (TR)

180. LS: Like #175 but the engineer is further away. (TR)

181. CU: Tymish on the train. (TR)

182. CU: A Red soldier plays the accordion. (TR)

183. CU: A soldier is sleeping while leaning against another soldier's back. (TR)

184. CU: A soldier is leaning against his rifle. (TR)

185. CU: A soldier is sleeping. (TR)

186. MS: (LA) Three soldiers on a moving car. (TR)

187. MS: Soldiers are sitting at the open door of the moving car. (TR)

188. CU: Soldiers playing cards.

189. MS: (LA) Overhead bridge beams. (TR)

190. CU: A soldier's fur hat. (TR)

191. MS: Three soldiers on a moving car. (TR)

192. CU: A soldier plays the accordion. (TR)

193. MS: Like #174. (TR)

194. MS: A soldier with a rifle at the open door. (TR)

195. MS: (HA) A group of soldiers play cards.

196. CU: A soldier turns his head and shouts. (TR)

197. T: "Keep it going!"

198. MS: A soldier plays the accordion. (TR)

199. CU: Like #178. (TR)

200. CU: Like #182. (TR)

201. CU: Like #178. (TR)

202. CU: Like #182. (TR)

203. CU: The accordion. (TR)

204. CU: The accordion. (TR)

205. CU: The accordion. (TR)

206. CU: The accordion. (TR)

207. CU: The accordion. (TR)

208. CU: The accordion. (TR)

209. CU: The accordion. (TR)

210. CU: The accordion. (TR)

211. CU: The accordion. (TR)

212. CU: The accordion. (TR)

213. CU: The accordion. (TR)

214. CU: The accordion. (TR)

215. MS: Shadows of the soldiers riding on the train. (TR)

216. CU: The accordion. (TR)

217. CU: The accordion. (TR)

218. CU: The accordion. (TR)

219. MS: Shadows of moving cars. (TR)

220. T: "Hey! - Keep it going!"

221. T: "Shove in the piston!"

222. MS: Soldiers at the engine controls pushing each other.

223. CU: A soldier manipulates levers.

224. CU: A man wearing a pince-nez talks on a phone.

225. CU: Similar to #224. The man gets up.

226. CU: A soldier waves his arm in alarm. (TR)

227. CU: A frightened woman.

228. CU: Similar to #227 - extreme closeup.

229. MS: Soldiers fighting at the engine controls.

230. LS: Officials at a train station run around the room frightened.

231. CU: Like #229.

232. LS: Like #230.

233. MS: A soldier at the machine gun waves his arm and shouts. (TR)

234. CU: Tymish and another soldier seen from the back. (TR)

235. MS: A soldier leaves his machine gun in panic. (TR)

236. MS: Two scared soldiers on a moving car. (TR)

237. CU: A scared soldier pulls a his companion who is sleeping. (TR)

238. CU: The scared soldier's face. (TR)

239. CU: The scared soldier's face. (TR)

240. MS: Like #229.

241. MS: Soldiers pushing each other trying to escape. (TR)

242. CU: A soldier holds onto the speeding car while screaming. Then he jumps. (TR)

243. MS: (LA) Soldiers jump out of a moving car. (TR)

244. CU: Soldiers pushing each other in panic. (TR)

245. MS: (LA) A soldier jumps from L to R. (TR)

246. MS: (LA) Soldiers jump R to L. (TR)

247. MS: (LA) A soldier jumps towards the camera. (TR)

248. MS: (LA) A soldier jumps L to R. (TR)

249. MS: (HA) A soldier hits the ground. (TR)

250. MS: Soldiers pushing each other. (TR)

251. MS: An old woman sitting on a bench.

252. MS: (LA) A soldier jumps down towards the camera. (TR)

253. MS: (LA) A soldier jumps down towards the camera. (TR)

254. CU: An old woman screaming.

255. CU: A young woman.

256. MS: Smoke and twisted metal.

257. MS: Smoke and twisted metal.

258. MS: Smoke and twisted metal.

259. MS: The accordion is rolling on a wood roof.

260. MS: The accordion falls off a roof.

261. MS: The accordion hits the ground.

262. CU: A hand protruding from twisted metal.

263. CU: Like #261. The accordion folds itself and stops moving.

264. CU: Like #262. The hand falls down. A cloud of smoke moves from L to R.

265. MS: The legs of a soldier among twisted metal.

266. MS: Tymish gets up from the ground unharmed and looks around.

267. T: "I'll learn to run these things yet!"

268. MS: Like #266. Tymish faces the camera.

Fade out
Fade in

269. MS: A room in a house. A woman holds a baby in her arms. She gets up and a Ukrainian soldier enters the room. He leans over the table in her direction.

270. T: "Who?"

271. MS: A woman with a baby and a German soldier.

272. T: "Wer?"

273. MS: A woman with a baby and an injured French soldier.

274. T: "Qui?"

275. CU: The French mother.

276. CU: The German mother.

277. CU: The Ukrainian mother.

278. MS: A handicapped soldier lying on a sidewalk.

279. CU: An officer at a desk.

280. T: "Who are you?"

281. CU: Like #279.

282. CU: Tymish is standing.

283. T: "A demobilized soldier and arsenal-worker - I have the honor of returning."

284. CU: Similar to #279 but closer.

285. T: "A Ukrainian?"

286. CU: Like #284.

287. CU: Like #282.

288. CU: Similar to #284 but closer.

289. T: "A deserter!"

290. CU: Like #288.

291. CU: Tymish's head.

292. MS: Two men eavesdropping outside the closed door.

293. CU: The officer speaks.

294. CU: Like #291.

295. CU: Like #293. The officer moves his head up.

296. CU: Like #291. Tymish shouts.

297. CU: Like #293.

298. CU: Like #291. Tymish looks ahead intensely.

299. CU: The top of the officer's desk. The officer's hand moves a gun closer.

300. MS: (HA) Tymish makes few steps towards the desk, then turns around and walks out of the room.

301. MS: Tymish meets two man at the door and they walk away.

Dissolve to

302. MS: Tymish stands in front of several men seated around a table.

303. MS: Tymish speaks while waving his arms.

304. CU: A man in a leather jacket eats and then speaks.

305. MS: Like #303. Tymish leans forward while speaking.

306. CU: An older man seated against a poster in the background.

307. CU: Like #304. The man speaks.

308. T: "Go on back to the barracks, Timco. When the time comes the revolutionary committee will call you."

309. CU: Like #304.

310. MS: Like #303. Tymish smiles and speaks.

Fade out
Fade in

311. LS: (HA) A religious procession moves towards the camera. People gather on both sides of the road.

312. MS: The crowd. All the men take their hats of.

313. MS: A group of orthodox priests leads the procession.

314. MS: People in the procession carry crosses, flags and a portrait of Shevchenko.

315. CU: The portrait of Shevchenko.

316. MS: Women carry icons towards the camera.

317. MS: The priests walk towards the camera.

318. CU: An older woman crosses herself.

319. MS: (LA) Soldiers sit on Khmelnyts'kyi monument.

320. CU: A young man in a crowd.

321. CU: A priest sings.

322. CU: Another priest sings.

323. T: "Let us thank God, who has preserved our free Ukraine!"

324. CU: A priest singing.

325. CU: A priest singing.

326. CU: A priest singing.

327. CU: Like #324.

328. CU: A priest singing.

329. MS: A priest singing. An older woman kisses his robes.

330. MS: Two priests hold the portrait of Shevchenko while it is being incensed.

331. CU: (LA) A man with a ribbon speaks.

332. T: Christians-

333. CU: An old man listens in the crowd.

334. CU: (LA) The wind blows the speaker's papers against his face.

335. T: School-boys-

336. CU: (LA) A student sings in front of an enthusiastic crowd.

337. T: Students-

338. CU: Young men in uniforms.

339. T: Teachers-

340. CU: The face of a smiling woman.

341. T: - both men and women -

342. CU: A speaker with a moustache wipes tears off his face.

343. T: Artists-

344. MS: A group of men dressed as Cossacks ride horses. (TR)

345. T: Co-workers-

346. CU: A bold man with a moustache speaks.

347. CU: Like #334.

348. CU: The man with a pince-nez speaks.

349. T: "Long live - !"

350. CU: A woman shouting.

351. MS: Four people smiling.

352. CU: (LA) A man speaks.

353. T: "Long - "

354. MS: Women in the crowd.

355. MS: People in the crowd. A bald man in the foreground.

356. MS: (LA) Students waving.

357. CU: Like #336.

358. MS: The man with a pince-nez speaks and waves his arms.

359. T: "Long live - !"

360. CU: The face of the older woman laughing.

361. MS: Like #355.

362. MS: People in front of the Khmelnyts'kyi monument.

363. CU: Like #342.

364. CU: Like #352.

365. MS: Men in uniforms chanting.

366. T: "Long live !"

367. MS: The crowd moving R to L.

368. MS: The crowd moving L to R.

369. MS: The crowd moving R to L.

370. MS: The crowd moving L to R.

371. MS: The crowd moving L to R.

372. CU: The man with a pince-nez speaks.

373. CU: A man with a long white moustache speaks.

374. CU: Like #352.

375. CU: Like #346.

376. T: "For three hundred years you have - "

377. CU: The older woman cries and crosses herself.

378. LS: A soldier attaches a Ukrainian flag to the Khmelnyts'kyi monument.

379. CU: A Ukrainian flag waving in the air.

380. MS: (LA) A soldier sits on the Khmelnyts'kyi monument and cleans his nose.

381. MS: A young man pushing through the crowd.

382. MS: Two older men in uniforms.

383. T: "Christ is risen!"

384. MS: Like #382. The men start kissing each other.

385. MS: (HA) People in the crowd kiss each other and are pushed by the crowd.

386. MS: The crowd moves in front of Tymish.

387. CU: Tymish looks around.

388. MS: Men in Cossack uniforms ride horses from L to R.

389. MS: A man with a ribbon takes off his fur hat.

390. T: "Christ is risen, soldier-man!"

391. MS: Like #389. The man moves to the R.

392. MS: A man tries to embrace Tymish but is pushed away. Tymish looks at the man's ribbon and walks away.

393. MS: The interior of a room. An old man puts a candle on the table.

394. MS: He climbs on top of a bench and places the candle in front of Shevchenko's portrait.

395. CU: The man sings and gestures with his hand like a music director.

396. CU: The portrait of Shevchenko. Shevchenko moves his eyes, blows the candle and returns to his normal position.

397. MS: Two young men in uniforms.

398. CU: A soldier eating sunflower seeds. He turns his head and speaks.

399. T: "And who was this man, Bogdan?"

400. CU: A soldier in a fur hat.

401. T: "Some kind of native Ukrainian general, they say."

402. MS: The soldier in the fur hat.

403. LS: An auditorium. A man on the stage makes a speech.

404. MS: The man on stage.

405. LS: Men in Cossack uniforms ride horses.

406. MS: The man with a pince-nez makes a speech.

407. T: "Soldiers! The Central Council is calling you!"

408. LS: An auditorium. A crowd of people listening. A man raises his hand.

409. CU: The man on stage speaks.

410. LS: Like #408.

411. CU: Like #409.

412. LS: Like #408.

413. CU: Like #409. The man notices someone a raising hand.

414. MS: Two soldiers turn their heads.

415. LS: Like #408. The man in the crowd gets up and speaks.

416. T: "And will it be all right to kill officers and bourgeois in the street if we find any?"

417. MS: A soldier turns his head and looks at the camera.

418. CU: A soldier smiling.

419. MS: Two soldiers eating seeds.

420. CU: The man on the stage speaks.

421. CU: A soldier in the audience.

422. MS: A line of soldiers.

423. MS: Two soldiers facing each other. They are seen behind a line of bayonets.

424. CU: One of the soldiers speaks.

425. CU: The other soldier speaks and raises his arm.

426. CU: Like #424. The soldier raises his arm.

427. MS: An officer behind a desk hands out a pen and speaks.

428. CU: Tymish shakes his head.

429. CU: The smiling officer speaks.

430. T: "But you are a Ukrainian - Aren't you?"

431. CU: Like #428. Tymish stands motionless.

432. T: "Yes - a worker!"

433. CU: Like #428. Tymish looks intensely ahead.

434. CU: Like #429.

435. CU: Like #433. Tymish walks away.

436. CU: Like #429. The officer calls a guard and whispers to him while pointing in Tymish's direction.

437. MS: Tymish stops at the row of bayonets.

438. CU: The man on the stage speaks.

439. CU: A soldier arguing.

440. CU: Another soldier arguing.

441. CU: Like #439.

442. MS: The man on the stage speaking.

443. CU: Like #440.

444. CU: Like #439.

445. CU: Like #440.

446. CU: Like #439.

447. CU: Like #440.

448. CU: Tymish thinking (in profile.)

449. T: "*Yes - a worker!*"

450. CU: Like #448. Tymish turns his head suddenly.

451. MS: Two men on the stage. Tymish pushes them away and turns to the audience.

452. CU: (LA) Tymish speaks.

453. MS: Tymish speaks (seen from behind). The audience rises to their feet.

Fade out
Fade in

454. T: The first All-Ukrainian conference - of respectable people.

455. CU: A fat man with a moustache sitting.

456. CU: The man with a pince-nez.

457. CU: A fat man in an embroidered shirt.

458. CU: Like #456.

459. CU: Like #455.

460. CU: The fat man in an embroidered shirt whispers to his neighbour.

461. T: "That's the Ukrainian presiding Council our teacher in the village has been telling us about!"

462. MS: Two men at the table. They look at a sheet of paper and laugh.

463. CU: A man in Cossack costume.

464. CU: A man at a table with a piece of paper in his hand.

465. CU: A fat man at the table.

466. T: "The representative of the Bolsheviks has the floor."

467. CU: The man in an embroidered shirt stares in amazement.

468. MS: (HA) Three elderly members of the audience raise their fists.

469. CU: Like #467.

470. CU: A man at the presiding table smiles.

471. MS: Like #469.

472. CU: A man in the audience stands up.

473. CU: Tymish observing the audience.

474. CU: A man in the audience stands up while shouting and waving his fists.

475. CU: A man at the presiding table.

476. CU: A man at the presiding table makes notes and smiles politely.

477. CU: Another man in the audience gets up and speaks.

478. CU: Like #473.

479. CU: A man at the presiding table lowers his head laughing.

480. CU: Like #477.

481. MS: Tymish on the stage speaking.

482. T: "We are workers - we are also for the freedom of Ukraine. But we demand the land for the peasants and the factories for the workers!"

483. MS: Like #481. Tymish pounds his fist on the speaker stand.

484. CU: A man turns his head and talks to his neighbour.

485. CU: Tymish speaks.

486. CU: The man in an embroidered shirt laughing.

487. CU: Like #485.

488. T: "You who care only for national independence will let Ukraine go on as it has been for centuries under the old Russia!"

489. CU: Like #485. Tymish speaks passionately.

490. MS: Three angry men in the crowd approach the podium.

491. CU: Like #485. Tymish looks to the L.

492. MS: Like #490. One of the men speaks.

493. CU: A hand rings a bell.

494. CU: Like #484.

495. CU: Like #485. Tymish turns to the presiding table.

496. CU: The man in a Cossack costume.

497. CU: Like #485. Tymish addresses the presiding table.

498. T: "We shall see how you will apply your lawless justice to the unarmed representatives of the workers and peasants!"

499. CU: Like #497.

500. CU: A man at the presiding table laughs.

501. CU: Like #493.

502. CU: Like #497. Tymish turns around and walks away.

503. CU: The man at the presiding table looks up while still laughing.

504. CU: A man bows, turns around and speaks.

505. T: "Very well - you say the government will belong to the Ukraine! But to whom will the land belong?"

506. CU: Like #500.

507. CU: Like #504. He turns to the camera and speaks.

508. T: "Will the land belong to the peasants at the absentee landlords?"

509. CU: Like #493.

510. T: "Simon Petlura, the chieftain of the Haydamak Kosh has the floor!"

511. CU: A man in the audience laughs and claps his hands.

512. CU: An older man in the audience clapping his hands.

513. CU: An older man with grey hair.

514. CU: Like #512.

515. CU: Like #513. A man starts clapping.

516. CU: A man in a Cossack costume.

517. CU: Like #513.

518. CU: Like #516. The man starts clapping after being urged on by others.

519. CU: Like #493.

520. CU: Like #516.

521. CU: Like #493.

522. CU: Like #511.

523. CU: Like #512.

524. MS: Tymish and the other soldiers leave the balcony of the theatre. Tymish comes back and shouts.

525. CU: Like #493.

526. T: "Gentlemen, a message of greeting has come from the Black Sea Fleet. We beg permission to make it public!"

527. LS: The audience stands up clapping.

528. MS The audience clapping.

529. CU: Like #512.

530. CU: A man reads a letter.

531. CU: Like #516.

532. CU: Like #530.

533. CU: Like #516.

534. CU: Like #530.

535. T: "- and do not rely upon the Black Sea Fleet, for we will be the first to train our guns upon you!"

536. CU: The man with a pince-nez.

537. CU: The man in a Cossack costume looks surprised.

538. CU: A barrel of a heavy gun moves from R to L.

539. CU: Like #537. The man puts his head down.

540. CU: Like #536. The man takes his pince-nez off in disbelief.

541. CU: A man at the presiding table rings a bell.

542. T: "Gentlemen, this is an error! I'll put it to a vote - who is in favor of considering this an error?"

543. MS: An empty theatre balcony.

544. MS: Empty chairs in the balcony.

545. T: "Who is against?"

546. MS: A man in the audience raises his hand, looks around and pulls it down.

547. T: But outside the Convention - all over the Ukraine - was a different spirit.

548. MS: (LA) A soldier on horseback.

549. T: The Dreadnought MARIA.

550. MS: (LA) Another soldier on horseback.

551. T: Freedom.

552. MS: (LA) A soldier on horseback.

553. MS: (LA) Three soldiers on horseback.

554. T: The Don Basin!

555. CU: A smoking chimney.

556. MS: Two chimneys.

557. MS: Two chimneys (different angle).

558. LS: A demonstration.

559. MS: Workers on a platform move forward.

560. T: Boguntzy!

561. LS: Soldiers on horseback galloping on the snow covered ground.

(Pan)

562. MS: The legs of the galloping horses. (TR)

563. T: The arsenal - listening.

564. CU: A lathe turning down metal.

565. CU: Gears turning.

566. CU: A rotating part of a machine.

567. CU: A worker turns his head up.

568. CU: A rotating part of a machine.

569. CU: A worker turns around quickly.

570. MS: An armoured vehicle moves towards the camera.

571. CU: Gears turning.

572. CU: A belt driven mechanism at work.

573. CU: A gear. (one frame)

574. CU: A worker turns abruptly and shouts.

575. CU: A worker appears from the bottom left corner.

576. CU: A worker appears from the bottom right corner.

577. CU: A worker waves his arm.

578. T: "Strike!"

579. CU: (LA) A worker's face.

580. CU: Another face.

581. CU: A worker shouts and exits the frame.

582. CU: Like #572. The mechanism slows down and stops.

583. CU: Motionless gears.

584. CU: Another motionless mechanism.

585. LS: A platoon of soldiers marches towards the camera.

586. LS: A workers' meeting. A worker speaks surrounded by others.

587. MS: (HA) Workers listening.

588. CU: Two faces.

589. MS: Two workers.

590. LS: Soldiers marching.

591. MS: (LA) A soldier at a machine gun.

592. CU: Like #588.

593. CU: A worker's face.

594. LS: Soldiers march close to a building.

595. MS: People moving luggage.

596. MS: People moving luggage.

597. MS: Three workers turn their heads when a worker with a rifle appears from the left.

598. LS: Workers leave the meeting quickly.

599. MS: A machine gun.

600. MS: Men aiming rifles.

601. LS: Like #594.

602. CU: The barrel of a gun.

603. LS: A marching platoon stops and its leader walks forward.

604. MS: (HA) Tymish stops.

605. MS: People pushing each other in a crowd.

606. MS: People pushing each other in a crowd.

607. MS: Tymish and another man walk across a bridge. They are followed by a platoon of soldiers.

Dissolve to

608. MS: The platoon passes through the gate and the gate closes behind them.

609. LS: A man with a suitcase runs towards the camera along the platform of a train station.

610. CU: A railroad worker.

611. T: "The proletariat is abolishing trains!"

612. CU: Like #610.

613. LS: Like #609. The man with a suitcase runs away from the camera and vanishes.

Fade out
Fade in

614. LS: An industrial landscape with chimneys.

615. MS: A soldier leans against his rifle.

616. MS: Soldiers around a heavy gun.

617. CU: One of the soldiers.

618. CU: Another soldier.

619. CU: Another soldier turns his head.

620. LS: Civilians are let through a door by a guard.

621. CU: A soldier at the gun.

622. CU: Tymish turns his head.

623. MS: Two men load a shell into the gun.

624. MS: A well dressed old man at a desk in his office.

625. MS: Well dressed people at the dinner table. A man in uniform enters the room.

626. MS: Two women in a darkened room.

627. MS: Like #624. A man enters the office and carefully looks through the window.

628. LS: (LA) A platform moving from R to L. (TR)

629. MS: A child stands on a bed and cries.

630. MS: (LA) Two guards.

631. CU: One of the soldiers at the gun.

632. CU: The old man behind the desk.

633. CU: Like #631. The soldier rolls up a cigarette.

634. LS: A man in a worker's apron enters a room.

635. CU: Like #632. The man turns his head to the L and listens.

636. CU: A well dressed man jumps up from his chair.

637. CU: The man in the apron turns to the right and listens.

638. MS: An old man walks back and forth in his room.

639. CU: Like #633.

640. CU: The man from shot #638.

641. CU: The man behind the desk.

642. CU: Hands of the switchboard operators making connections.

643. CU: A crank of a gun turning slowly clockwise by itself.

644. CU: A man turning his head slowly counterclockwise.

645. CU: Like #643. The crank comes to a stop.

646. CU: The old man at the desk looks to the left.

647. CU: The old man at the desk looks to the right.

648. CU: The old man at the desk looking left.

649. CU: The old man at the desk looks to the left (closer framing)

650. CU: The old man looks straight ahead. Abruptly he turns his head to the right and back.

651. CU: The old man looks straight at the camera (closer framing)

652. CU: Like #651 but closer framing.

653. CU: Like #651 even closer framing.

654. CU: Like #651 but only his eyes showing.

655. MS: A guard aiming his rifle.

656. CU: A woman knitting.

657. LS: Soldiers move along the wall.

658. MS: Like #631. The soldier smokes the cigarette.

659. MS: Like #655. The guard gives a sign with his hand.

660. LS: Like #657. The soldiers start shooting.

661. MS: Two scared women in a room try to run away.

662. MS: A man running from L to R.

663. CU: A terrified man covers his head with a newspaper.

664. MS: Like #662. The man runs from R to L.

665. CU: (LA) A terrified man.

666. MS: People at the dinning table get up.

667. LS: Like #657.

668. MS: Like #666. People run away.

669. LS: Like #657.

670. MS: Like #666. A man returns to the table to pick up something.

671. LS: A group of soldiers on horseback ride away from the camera.

672. MS: A man in an apron listens. He turns his head to the camera.

673. T: "I think they have started shooting!"

674. MS: Like #672.

675. LS: A city street. A man without legs crosses the street from L to R.

Fade out
Fade in

676. LS: A long lineup of people.

677. MS: People lining up. Churches in the background.

678. CU: The faces of people in the lineup.

679. CU: A face of the well dressed woman in the lineup.

680. MS: A bell tower of the church.

681. MS: Two motionless men on a street.

682. MS: Another pair of motionless men on a city street.

683. MS: Three motionless men on a city street.

684. MS: A man in the lineup gets angry.

685. MS: A fat man drinks from a bucket held by another man.

686. LS: A woman runs toward a gate. She is struck by a bullet and falls down.

687. MS: A body of a man lying on the pavement. An empty bucket lying beside the man.

688. MS: An arm and a shopping bag on pavement.

Fade out
Fade in

689. LS: A nurse in a make-shift hospital.

690. MS: A window in a hospital.

691. CU: Patients in a hospital.

692. MS: Bodies of the patients.

Dissolve

693. MS: Bodies of patients.

Dissolve

694. MS: Two patients sleep leaning against each other.

695. MS: The nurse.

696. T: "Allow me to make my obeisance to you -"

697. MS: The nurse bends over a notebook.

698. T: "- and to everyone. I bow to the very ground!"

699. MS: Like #697. The nurse writes.

700. CU: A soldier with a bandaged head lying on a bed. He speaks.

701. T: "Please answer me! Is it all right to kill officers and bourgeois in the street if I find any?"

702. CU: Like #700. The soldier's head turns.

703. MS: Like #697. The nurse seals the envelope and turns to the soldier.

704. T: "What is the address?"

705. MS: Like #703. She shakes the soldier and pulls back.

706. CU: The head of the dead soldier.

707. MS: The nurse pulls the letter out of the envelope and looks straight at the camera.

708. CU: The head of the dead soldier.

709. MS: Like #707.

710. CU: Like #706.

711. MS: Like #707. The nurse gets up.

712. CU: The nurse reads the letter aloud looking at the camera.

713. T: "Before all of you I bow to the very ground!"

714. CU: Like #712.

715. T: "I ask you - all of you - is it all right to kill officers and bourgeois in the street if I find any?"

716. MS: Two groups of soldiers with rifles clash with each other.

717. MS: (LA) Soldiers running.

718. MS: Two groups of soldiers attack each other.

Fade out
Fade in

719. LS: A church in the countryside. Snow on the ground.

720. LS: Trees.

721. LS: A cottage. Soldiers on horseback pass by the cottage.

722. T: Blood was spilled at Bakhmach, Nezhin...

723. LS: Bodies lying along a railway track. (TR)

724. LS: A group of horsemen pass the cottage.

725. MS: Soldiers marching along a railway track. (TR)

726. LS: Like #723. (TR)

727. MS: Two women in a snow-covered, deserted landscape.

728. MS: A herd of horses passes an open gate.

729. LS: Like #723. (TR)

730. MS: Like #728.

731. CU: A soldier lying on the snow speaks.

732. T: "Hey, you - brothers of mine, comrades in battle!"

733. CU: The heads of two horses eating from the ground.

734. CU: A horse's hind legs.

735. MS: The backs of soldiers looking down.

736. T: "Four years of service, then four years of war - that's what I've stood!"

737. CU: A soldier looks down.

738. CU: The heads of two horses.

739. CU: A head of a horse.

740. CU: Like #738.

741. T: "And on top of that a year of civil war, brothers!"

742. CU: A soldier turns his head.

743. CU: A bearded soldier.

744. CU: Another soldier.

745. T: "One of Petlura's bullets has got me, and I'm going to die a hero!"

746. CU: A horse's head.

747. CU: A horse's head.

748. CU: A horse's head

749. CU: A horse's head.

750. T: "Bury me at home, brothers, I haven't seen it for nine years. But hurry, brothers, the arsenal is in danger."

751. MS: (LA) Soldiers run towards the camera.

752. MS: Three soldiers place their dead colleague on a cart.

753. CU: The body is tied up to the cart with ropes.

754. LS: Soldiers running down the stairs.

755. LS: Soldiers running down the stairs. (very short)

756. LS: Like #754.

757. LS: Like #755.

758. LS: Horses pulling the cart run down the hill.

759. LS: Horses with the cart run towards the camera.

760. MS: Horses with the cart move from L to R.

761. MS: The horses pulling the cart. (TR)

762. MS: Moving landscape. (TR)

763. MS: The horses and the cart. (Pan from L to R) (TR)

764. CU: A soldier driving the horses. (TR)

765. LS: Trees in the landscape. (Pan R to L) (TR)

766. MS: The horses pulling the cart. (TR)

767. MS: The landscape. (TR)

768. CU: A soldier riding a horse. (TR)

769. CU: Similar to #764. (TR)

770. MS: Horses pulling the cart. (TR)

771. CU: The soldier riding a horse. Similar to # 768. (TR)

772. MS: Horses pulling the cart. (TR)

773. CU: Similar to #764. (TR)

774. T: "Come on, horses - our steeds of war!"

775. CU: The soldier driving the horses. (TR)

776. MS: The running horses. (TR)

777. MS: The horses' legs. (TR)

778. CU: The soldier from shot #771. (TR)

779. T: "Hasten to bury our comrade!"

780. MS: The running horses. (TR)

781. MS: The horses' legs.

782. CU: The soldier riding the horse. (TR)

783. MS: The horses' heads. (TR)

784. CU: The soldier driving the horses. (TR)

785. MS: The horses pulling the cart. (Pan to the right) (TR)

786. T: "*Revolution!*"

787. MS: (LA) The horses and the cart. (Movement from the lower left corner to the right top corner)

788. MS: The horses running. (Pan to the left) (TR)

789. MS: The horses running. (TR)

790. MS: The horses' legs moving towards the camera. (TR)

791. MS: (LA) A soldier on horseback. (TR)

792. MS: (LA) Two white horses. (TR)

793. MS: (LA) The heads of two horses. (TR)

794. T: "*We feel it in the air!*"

795. MS: The heads of two horses. (TR)

796. T: "*Yes, masters - we sense it!*"

797. MS: The horses pulling the cart.

798. MS: The heads of two white horses. (TR)

799. MS: The heads of two dark horses. (TR)

800. T: "*We are flying with all the speed* -"

801. MS: (LA) The heads of two running horses. (TR)

802. MS: The heads of two running horses. (TR)

803. T: "- *of our twenty-four legs* -"

804. MS: The horses' legs in gallop. (Pan) (TR)

805. MS: The horses' legs. (TR)

806. MS: (HA) The road. (TR)

807. MS. Like #806 but a slightly different angle. (TR)

808. MS: Soldiers running along the bridge R to L.

809. MS: Like #808 but the bridge is at different angle.

810. MS: Like #808 but the bridge is at different angle.

811. MS: Like #808 but the bridge is at different angle.

812. MS: Like #808 but the bridge is at different angle.

813. MS: Soldiers pass a dead body on the ground.

814. LS: A woman standing at the hole dug up in the ground.

815. MS: Horses' legs in gallop. (TR)

816. MS: Horses' legs in gallop. (TR)

817. MS: Horses' legs in gallop. (TR)

818. LS: Like #814.

819. LS: The fighting on a city street. Bodies on the ground.

820. MS: Horses pulling a cart. (TR)

821. MS: Horses pulling a cart. (TR)

822. CU: The soldier riding the horse. (TR)

823. CU: The soldier driving the horses. (TR)

824. CU: The soldier driving the horses. (TR)

825. MS: The horses' legs and the cart's wheels. (TR)

826. MS: The horses pulling the cart. (TR)

827. MS: The horses' legs moving towards the camera. (TR)

828. LS: A lakeshore landscape. (TR)

829. LS: A large group of soldiers on horseback moving from R to L.

830. LS: Like #814. The cart pulled by the horses approaches from the horizon.

831. MS: The motionless woman.

832. MS: The dead soldier's head tied up to the cart.

833. MS: Like #831.

834. LS: Soldiers on horses moving R to L.

835. LS: Three soldiers carry the dead body closer to the grave.

836. LS: The soldiers place the body on the ground.

837. CU: The face of a soldier looking downwards.

838. CU: The face of another soldier who starts speaking.

839. T: "Here he is, mother! There is no time for explanations! Such is our revolutionary life and death!"

840. CU: Like #838.

841. CU: The face of a soldier from the frame #837 in profile.

842. LS: Soldiers on horseback moving from R to L.

843. CU: The soldier from frame #838 bends down.

844. MS: Wheels of the cart.

845. LS: The cart pulled by the horses moves away from camera.

846. MS: City buildings. (TR)

847. T: The armored car, Free Ukraine.

848. LS: An armoured vehicle moves towards the camera.

849. MS: A body lying on the pavement.

850. MS: Soldiers running up the stairs towards the camera.

851. MS: Like #846. (TR)

852. MS: Like #849.

853. MS: Like #846. The camera slows down. (TR)

854. MS: Similar to #849. The man gets up in front of the approaching armored vehicle.

855. MS: The armoured vehicle explodes.

856. MS: A group of soldiers sneaks behind another group of soldiers and shoots at them.

857. LS: Soldiers on horseback move R to L.

858. LS: Two men in an empty building.

859. CU: The man with a pince-nez holding a revolver.

860. CU: The soldier in a leather jacket.

861. CU: Like #859.

862. T: "You have overthrown our free Ukraine!"

863. CU: Like #860.

864. LS: Like #858.

865. T: "Stand with your face to the wall!"

866. CU: Similar to #859.

867. MS: (LA) Soldiers jump over the camera.

868. CU: Like #866. The man raises his arm and shouts.

869. CU: Like #860. The soldier turns around and walks towards the wall. He stops with his face to the wall.

870. CU: Like #866. The man aims his revolver.

871. LS: Soldiers on horseback.

872. MS: Like #869. The soldier turns around.

873. CU: Like #870.

874. LS: Soldiers running R to L.

875. CU: Like #870.

876. MS: A soldier waves. Other soldiers run past him from L to R.

877. CU: The soldier in a leather jacket.

878. CU: The soldier in a leather jacket. Further from the camera.

879. MS: Like #872.

880. LS: The soldier in a leather jacket. Even further from the camera. He starts to walk towards the camera.

881. LS: Soldiers on horseback.

882. LS: Like #880. He approaches the camera.

883. MS: Soldiers running with rifles.

884. MS: The man with a pince-nez walks towards the camera aiming his revolver.

885. MS: A soldier on horseback moves L to R.

886. MS: (LA) Soldiers jump over the camera.

887. MS: A soldier on horseback moves L to R.

888. MS: A soldier on horseback moves R to L.

889. MS: (LA) Soldiers jump over the camera.

890. MS: Two groups of soldiers fight.

891. LS: (HA) Soldiers on horseback in the street.

892. LS: The man with a pince-nez and the soldier in the leather jacket approach each other.

893. MS: The man with a pince-nez and the soldier in the leather jacket approach each other.

894. CU: The man with a pince-nez aims his gun.

895. CU: The soldier in the leather jacket speaks.

896. T: "Can't you do it looking in my eyes?"

897. CU: Like #895.

898. CU: Like #894.

899. CU: Like #895.

900. T: "I can!"

901. CU: Like #895. The soldier reaches for the gun.

902. CU: Like #894. The man pretends to pull the trigger.

903. CU: Like #895. The soldier aims the gun.

904. CU: Like #894.

905. MS: Spent artillery shells.

906. LS: The man with a pince-nez dead on the floor. The soldier in the leather jacket standing over him.

Fade out
Fade in

907. T: The twenty-fourth hour.

908. MS: A machine gun.

909. T: The forty-eighth hour.

910. MS: A dead soldier.

911. T: The seventy-second hour.

912. MS: A soldier sitting among spent artillery shells.

913. MS: Two soldiers leaning against a wall.

914. CU: One of the soldiers listens to his watch and winds it.

915. CU: The other soldier turns his head and speaks.

916. T: "I wonder what is the weather going to be tomorrow?"

917. CU: The soldier with the watch turns his head.

918. T: "Tomorrow! I thought tomorrow it would be finished -- but we went and stopped - stopped!"

919. CU: The other soldier.

920. LS: An armoured vehicle moves from L to R along a wall.

921. CU: A rifle being loaded.

922. LS: Like #920. Soldiers run along a wall.

923. LS: Soldiers on foot and on horseback move towards the camera.

924. CU: Tymish shooting a machine gun.

925. LS: Like #923.

926. MS: A soldier turns around toward the camera.

927. T: "We need shells!"

928. MS: Like #926.

929. LS: A cloud of smoke moves L to R.

930. CU: A head of a dancing soldier.

931. CU: A head of another dancing soldier.

932. CU: A dancing soldier.

933. LS: A group of prisoners lead by guards moves L to R.

934. CU: The face of a smiling officer.

935. LS: Like #933.

936. LS: Two dancing soldiers surrounded by other soldiers.

937. CU: Boots and hands of a dancing soldier.

938. CU: A dancing soldier.

939. LS: Soldiers run L to R.

940. CU: Like #930.

941. CU: Like #930 but farther.

942. CU: Another dancing soldier.

943. CU: Like #930.

944. CU: Another dancing soldier.

945. CU: Like #930.

946. CU: Another dancing soldier.

947. CU: Another dancing soldier.

948. CU: A soldier turns around dancing.

949. CU: A soldier turns around dancing.

950. CU: Like #930.

951. CU: Like #930.

952. CU: Like #930.

953. CU: The motionless face of a blind man.

954. CU: Like #953 but further.

955. CU: The motionless face of the blind man. Further than in shot #954.

956. CU: The motionless face of the blind man. Still further.

957. MS: The motionless blind man.

958. LS: The blind man raises his arm.

959. CU: Like #937. Hands hit the ground rhythmically.

960. LS: Like #958. A man falls to the ground.

961. CU: A woman wearing a kerchief speaks.

962. T: Where is father?

963. CU: A woman with a baby in her arms speaks.

964. T: And husband?

965. MS: The man in a workers apron.

966. CU: An old woman speaks.

967. T: And son?

968. MS: The blind man falls down.

969. LS: A man and a child fall to the ground.

970. CU: A man with a bandaged head.

971. CU: Gears of a motionless machine.

972. T: And where is the locksmith?

973. MS: Parts of a motionless machine.

974. T: There is no locksmith.

975. MS: Parts of a motionless machine.

976. T: There is no blacksmith.

977. MS: A woman with a baby in her arms speaks.

978. T: There is no husband.

979. MS: A soldier mechanically raises his revolver and shoots several times.

980. MS: Tymish shooting the machine gun.

981. LS: Soldiers running.

982. CU: Tymish at the machine gun.

983. LS: Soldiers on horseback move towards the camera.

984. MS: Tymish at the machine gun.

985. MS: Three soldiers with rifles running towards the camera.

986. MS: Tymish gets up and tries to fix the gun.

987. LS: Soldiers on horseback in the street.

988. MS: Tymish at the machine gun.

989. LS: Like #981.

990. LS: Like #987.

991. MS: Tymish gets up and kicks the machine gun.

992. MS: Tymish kicking furiously.

993. MS: Tymish kicks the gun and then shouts and throws something.

994. MS: Three soldiers with rifles run towards the camera and speak.

995. MS: Tymish raises to his feet.

996. MS: Tymish stands up and speaks.

997. T: "A Ukrainian worker."

998. MS: Like #996.

999. MS: The three soldiers aim their rifles.

1000. CU: Tymish standing.

1001. MS: Like #999. The soldiers fire.

1002. MS: The soldiers aim and fire their rifles.

1003. CU: Like #1000.

1004. CU: Like #1000 but closer.

1005. CU: Like #1000 but closer.

1006. MS: A soldier shouting.

1007. T: "Is he wearing armor?"

1008. CU: A surprised soldier.

1009. CU: The soldier from #1006 looks surprised.

1010. CU: Like #1008. The soldier speaks.

1011. MS: Tymish tears open his shirt and shouts.

1012. T: "Shoot! There is something here you cannot kill!"

1013. MS: Like #1011.

1014. CU: The soldier from #1006 turns his head.

1015. CU: The soldier from #1010 shouts and disappears.

1016. CU: Like #1011.

Fade out

APPENDIX III: *Zemlia*

1. LS: A field of wheat.
2. LS: A field of wheat.
3. LS: A field of wheat.
4. LS: A field of wheat.
5. MS: A woman and a sunflower.
6. CU: A sunflower.
7. CU: Apples on tree branches.

Dissolve to:

8. CU: Apples on tree branches.
9. CU: Apples on tree branches.
10. CU: Apples on tree branches.

Dissolve to:

11. CU: An apple.

Dissolve to:

12. CU: Apples on tree branches.
13. CU: Grandfather Semén lies on the ground.
14. MS: Grandfather Petro, in a sitting position, speaks.
15. T: "You dyin', Simon?"
16. CU: Grandfather Semén.
17. T: "That I am, Peter."
18. CU: Like #16.
19. CU: Opanas looks down.
20. CU: Opanas' wife.
21. MS: (HA) Two children play with apples.
22. CU: Grandfather Petro turns his head and speaks.
23. T: "Yep. Well, go ahead."
24. LS: A field of wheat.

25. MS: Opanas standing.

26. CU: Vasyl looks down.

27. CU: Opanas' face.

28. CU: Vasyl's face.

29. CU: Grandfather Petro speaks.

30. T: "Go ahead, Simon, and after you're dead, let me know where you are over there--in heaven or hell..."

31. CU: Grandfather Petro speaks.

32. T: "And how ye be over there."

33. CU: Grandfather Semén turns his head to the left and speaks.

34. T: "All right, Peter, if I can, I'll report to you for sure."

35. MS: Grandfather Semén smiles.

36. LS: A field of wheat.

37. MS: Opanas turns his head to the left and speaks.

38. T: "For 75 years he plowed the earth with oxen..."

39. CU: Opanas turns his head to the right and speaks.

40. T: "That's no joke."

41. CU: Vasyl's face.

42. CU: Grandfather Petro speaks.

43. T: "If I was a gov'rment secretary..."

44. CU: Like #42.

45. T: "...I'd give him the Soviet Labor Medal."

46. CU: Vasyl smiles and speaks.

47. T: "For oxen, Gran'pop, they don't give medals."

48. CU: Grandfather Petro abruptly turns his head to the right and speaks.

49. T: "Well, what do they give'em for?"

50. CU: Like #48. Grandfather Petro speaks, turns his head to the camera and then back to the right.

51. CU: Vasyl speaks.

52. MS: Grandfather Semén raises himself up and looks up.

53. CU: Like #51.

54. MS: Like #52.

55. CU: Like #51.

56. CU: Grandfather Petro looks to the right, then to the left.

57. MS: Like #52. Grandfather Semén looks up and speaks.

58. T: "I'd like somethin' to eat."

59. MS: Like #52. Grandfather Semén takes an apple from a plate, wipes it in his sleeve and starts eating.

60. MS: Two children play on the ground.

61. CU: Grandfather Semén chews on his apple and looks ahead.

62. CU: A child smiles.

63. CU: Another child eats an apple.

64. CU: Like #61.

65. CU: Like #62.

66. CU: Grandfather Semén eats his apple.

67. MS: Vasyl's sister stands with a plate full of apples.

68. CU: Grandfather Semén wipes his lips with his sleeve, looks up and speaks.

69. T: "Well goodbye, I'm dyin'."

70. MS: Grandfather Semén folds his hands on his chest and lays down.

71. CU: A sunflower with its flower turned downwards.

72. MS: Grandfather Semén lays on the ground with his eyes closed.

73. MS: Opanas looks down.

74. MS: Vasyl looks ahead.

75. CU: Opanas' face.

76. CU: Opanas' wife. She turns her eyes upwards.

77. MS: Vasyl smiles and speaks.

78. T: "He liked pears."

79. MS: Like #77. Vasyl looks down.

80. MS: Grandfather Semén lays on the ground among apples.

Fade out

81. MS: An old woman crying.

82. MS: A younger woman crying.

83. MS: Two women hug each other while crying.

84. MS: A woman crying with her back to the camera.

85. CU: A man sits at the table worried. He looks to the left.

86. CU: A young man sitting at the table covers his face with his fists.

87. MS: Two women hug each other while crying.

88. CU: An older man turns his head to the right.

89. MS: Two women hug each other while crying.

90. CU: Like #85. The man with his head down pulls his hair.

91. MS: Two women crying.

92. CU: Like #86.

93. CU: Like #85. The man waves his fists angrily.

94. CU: The older woman cries.

95. CU: Like #88. The man looks to the left and waves his fist.

96. MS: A bearded man gets up and waves his fists.

97. CU: The older woman cries.

98. CU: Like #85. The man pulling his hair.

99. MS: Waving his fists, Khoma approaches two women and pushes the third woman to the side.

100. MS: The bearded man sits with his head down. He turns his head and speaks.

101. T: Read on, Sir."

102. Like #85. The man reads aloud from a newspaper.

103. T: Arkhip Whitehorse, who is undermining our operations,--hoarding seed, slaughtering dozens of head of livestock..."

104. MS: The old woman crying.

105. MS: A younger woman crying.

106. MS: Like #86.

107. MS: Khoma sits at the table and looks up.

108. MS: The bearded man speaks angrily pounding the table with his fist. He gets up.

109. MS: Like #107.

110. CU: A horse turns its head.

111. MS: The bearded man with an axe approaches the horse.

112. T: "I won't give it up! I'll kill it! I'll skin it!"

113. MS: A young woman struggles with the bearded man. She wants to take away his axe.

114. MS: The bearded man pulls the horse while being pulled by the woman.

115. MS: The woman struggles with the bearded man. The older man comes to help her.

116. MS: Three of them struggling.

117. MS: Vasyl, seen in profile, looks through the window and speaks.

118. T: "Well, Pop, now we'll put an end to the rich farmers. And get tractors too."

119. MS: Like #117.

120. MS: Opanas, with his back to the camera.

121. T: "But, Basil, maybe you're forgetting--what's his name..."

122. MS: Like #120.

123. MS: Vasyl with his back to the camera.

124. CU: Vasyl's head turns to the right; his back to the camera.

125. T: "We'll get tractors and take earth away from them."

126. MS: Opanas with his back to the camera; he turns his head to the left.

127. T: "That's just what I say--maybe you're forgetting--what's his name..."

128. MS: Vasyl (in profile) looking through the window.

129. MS: Opanas turns his head to the camera and speaks.

130. T: "They can get along without you. No need to go."

131. CU: Vasyl smiles.

132. MS: Opanas sits at the table with his back to the camera.

133. T: "Even as it is, the village is laughing."

134. MS: Like #132.

135. CU: Vasyl turns his head to the camera and speaks.

136. T: "It's not the village that's laughing, Pop, it's the rich farmers, and the dopes."

137. MS: Opanas quickly gets up and faces the camera.

138. CU: Opanas speaks.

139. T: "So you think I'm a dope?"

140. CU: Opanas speaks. (Closer than 138)

141. CU: Opanas speaks. (Closer than 140)

142. CU: Vasyl speaks.

143. T: "Not a dope, Daddy, but just getting old."

144. MS: Several men enter the room. Vasyl's friend speaks.

145. CU: Vasyl turns his head to the left while speaking.

146. MS: Like #144. The friend speaks.

147. MS: Opanas speaks.

148. T: "Oh-oh..the 'party cell" is back again."

149. MS: Like #147. Opanas turns around.

150. MS: Opanas sits down at the table and turns his head to the camera while speaking.

151. T: "Well, commence your 'politickin'."

152. MS: Like #150. Opanas turns his back to the camera.

153. MS: Vasyl's friend speaks waving his arms.

154. CU: The friend speaks.

155. CU: Opanas chewing; he turns his face to the camera.

156. CU: Like #154.

157. CU: One of the men who stands behind Vasyl's friend.

158. CU: Like #154.

159. CU: Opanas chewing; he turns his face towards the camera.

160. CU: Like #154.

161. CU: Like #159. Opanas bites of a piece of bread and wipes his lips.

162. CU: Like #154.

163. CU: Vasyl smiles.

164. CU: Another man smiles.

165. CU: Like #163. Vasyl smiles and turns his head to the left.

166. CU: A man whispers into another man's ear.

167. CU: One of the men smiles.

168. CU: Like #166.

169. MS: Opanas sits at the table with his back to the camera.

170. MS: Vasyl and his friend speak at the same time and wave their arms.

171. CU: The friend speaks.

172. CU: Vasyl speaks.

173. CU: Like #171.

174. CU: Like #172.

175. CU: Like #171.

176. CU: Like #172.

177. CU: Like #171.

178. CU: Like #172.

179. CU: Like #171.

180. CU: Like #172.

181. CU: Like #172.

182. CU: Like #170.

183. MS: Vasyl and his friend; their backs to the camera. Opanas in the background with his back to the camera.

184. MS: Vasyl and his friend turn around and follow other men out of the house.

185. MS: Opanas at the table is chewing on bread.

186. CU: Opanas turns his head to the camera and speaks while smiling.

187. T: "Well I'll be a sonuvabitch--them fellows are real class!!"

188. CU: Like #186.

Fade out
Fade in

189. LS: A group of people walking in the fields.

190. LS: A group of people walking (closer than #189).

191. MS: Vasyl enters the frame from the right; he shouts.

192. MS: Opanas ploughs with oxen; he stops and turns around.

193. CU: (LA) Vasyl shouts.

194. T: "Pop! I'm on my way."

195. LS: Vasyl runs to join the group.

196. MS: Opanas returns to work.

197. MS: Grandfather Petro sits at a grave.

198. MS: Four boys hide behind another grave.

199. MS: Like #197. The grandfather kneels down.

200. CU: Grandfather Petro puts his ear to the grave and speaks.

201. T: "Simon, where ye be down there?"

202. CU: Like #200.

203. MS: The boys come out from hiding and shout.

204. T: "Hello, granpop!"

205. MS: The boys hide again.

206. CU: Like #200.

207. MS: Like #203.

208. T: "Granpop, hello!"

209. MS: The grandfather raises up from the ground and shouts.

210. T: "Go to blazes, spawn of the devil."

211. MS: Like #209. The grandfather puts his ear to the grave again.

212. MS: A pair of oxen pulling a plough move from L to R. Opanas walks behind the plough.

213. MS: Grandfather Petro sits at the grave.

Fade out

214. MS: (LA) An ox.

215. MS: (LA) Two oxen.

216. MS: (LA) Three oxen chewing.

217. MS: (LA) Three men eat seeds and spit.

218. MS: (LA) Another group of three men.

219. MS: (LA) Men's heads against the sky.

220. MS: A group of people sitting down.

221. MS: (LA) Three men smile while looking ahead.

222. MS: A couple.

223. MS: Two men and a woman. An older man points to something ahead of him.

224. MS: A young man turns his head to the left.

225. MS: A smiling man turns his head to the right.

226. MS: A young man.

227. LS: An empty space with a row of telegraph poles.

228. MS: (LA) Grandfather Petro and an ox.

229. MS: (LA) A horse.

230. MS: Like #226. The man turns his head to the right and shouts.

231. T: "It's coming!"

232. MS: Two men get up while shouting.

233. T: "It's coming!"

234. MS: The man from shot #226 shouts.

235. T: "It's coming!"

236. MS: Two young women in kerchiefs.

237. MS: A man shouts.

238. LS: Children slide down a roof and run towards the camera.

239. MS: People run from L to R.

240. MS: Like #220. The people get up and run to the right.

241. LS: An empty space with a row of telegraph poles.

242. MS: A group of men walks behind a tractor.

243. MS: The men walking.

244. MS: The men walking.

245. MS: The men walking.

246. MS: (LA) Three men eating seeds.

247. MS: Vasyl drives a tractor. The men walk behind him.

248. MS: Like #246.

249. MS: The men walking.

250. LS: Children sitting on the roofs of the houses.

251. MS: The men walking.

252. MS: (LA) An old man with a cane.

253. LS: An empty space with a row of telegraph poles.

254. LS: A herd of horses.

255. LS: Like #253. The tractor and a group of men.

256. MS: Two men shout.

257. T: "It's here!"

258. MS: A man shouts.

259. T: "It's here!"

260. MS: Two women wearing kerchiefs.

261. T: "It's coming!"

262. MS: Two women wearing kerchiefs.

263. MS: The heads of horses.

264. T: "It's here!"

265. MS: A smiling woman.

266. MS: A man.

267. MS: A man shouts.

268. T: "It's here!"

269. MS: Two men sitting at the table. The younger man writes.

270. MS: The older man turns his head to the young man and speaks.

271. T: "Write: 'there are insufficient facilities for the collective grain and livestock..."

272. T: "...and next door the rich farmers have fine structures..."

273. MS: Like #270.

274. MS: An old man raises his arm and shouts.

275. T: "It's coming!"

276. MS: A man shouts.

277. T: "It's here!"

278. MS: A man turns his head to the right and smiles.

279. MS: A man raises his arms and shouts.

280. T: "It's coming!"

281. MS: A man raises his arm; he turns to the left.

282. CU: A man looks to the right and speaks.

283. MS: A man looks to the left while speaking.

284. MS: A young man puts down his pen, gets up and walks to the left.

285. MS: The men surround the stalled tractor.

286. MS: The men inspect the tractor.

287. MS: The young man from shot #284 shouts into the telephone receiver.

288. T: "I'm listening!"

289. MS: The men bent over the tractor.

290. CU: Vasyl turns his head and speaks.

291. MS: A man at a windmill shouts.

292. MS: A man whistles.

293. MS: Another man whistles.

294. MS: Two young women in kerchiefs smile.

295. MS: A man shouts and whistles.

296. MS: The young man talking on the phone.

297. T: "I'm listening!"

298. CU: Like #290.

299. MS: A man looks closely at the tractor.

300. MS: Vasyl tries to fix the tractor.

301. MS: Like #296.

302. T: "I'm listening!"

303. MS: A man tries to turn the tractor's wheel.

304. MS: A man at the wheel.

305. MS: Vasyl opens a radiator cap; he speaks to another man.

306. T: "Ain't no water in the radiator."

307. MS: The young man talking on the phone.

308. T: "I'm listening!"

309. MS: Vasyl looks around.

310. MS: A young man shouts.

311. MS: Men standing motionless around the tractor.

312. MS: Like #310.

313. MS: (LA) Grandfather Petro standing between two oxen.

314. MS: The young man talking on the phone.

315. T: "Comrade chairman! They're asking from the town whether the tractor has arrived."

316. MS: The chairman gets up from the table and runs to the left.

317. MS: The chairman takes the receiver.

318. MS: A young man takes off his hat and speaks.

319. T: "Comrade chairman. The tractor is here!!"

320. MS: The chairman looks to the right.

321. MS: Like #318. The man speaks.

322. MS: Like #320. The chairman speaks to the receiver.

323. T: "The tractor has arrived to a full audience."

324. LS: A man in the fields.

325. MS: Like #322.

326. MS: A man sitting on a dirt road.

327. MS: Like #322. The chairman puts down the receiver and turns to the right.

328. MS: The young man at the door speaks.

329. MS: The chairman and the younger man sit down at the table.

330. MS: The chairman speaks.

331. MS: The young man at the door speaks and waves his arms.

332. MS: Like #330. The older man turns his head and speaks.

333. T: "The tractor won't go."

334. MS: A man at the tractor. Another man sitting on the ground.

335. MS: Vasyl looks at the radiator cap.

336. MS: A man sits on the road.

337. CU: Vasyl shouts.

338. CU: A man lifts his head up.

339. MS: Vasyl's friend shouts.

340. T: "Let 'er fly!"

341. MS: An old man with a cane lifts his arms up and shouts.

342. MS: (LA) A man urinates on the radiator.

343. MS: A man urinating.

344. MS: Another man urinating.

345. MS: Like #343.

346. T: "Let 'er fly!"

347. MS: Another man urinating.

348. MS: Like #342.

349. MS: Men looking up.

350. MS: Like #344.

351. MS: A man stands on the tractor and urinates.

352. MS: A man jumps off the tractor.

353. MS: Two women look ahead. One of them crosses herself.

354. MS: Like #347.

355. T: "Go!"

356. MS: A man shouts and waves his hat.

357. MS: Vasyl drives the tractor and the men follow him from R to L.

358. MS: Vasyl drives the tractor.

359. MS: The men walking behind.

360. LS: Children run towards the camera.

361. LS: Villagers run R to L.

362. LS: Like #360.

363. LS: Villagers running.

364. LS: The tractor appears around the curve and drives towards the camera. The men run behind it.

365. LS: The tractor enters the village and is met by the crowd.

366. MS: (HA) The tractor.

367. LS: Villagers run R to L.

368. MS: Like #366.

369. MS: A bearded man looks through the window.

370. MS: Like #366.

371. MS: Grandfather Petro looks down.

372. MS: (HA) The tractor.

373. MS: Like #369.

374. MS: The bearded man sits down.

375. MS: Like #372.

376. MS: Like #371. Grandfather Petro looks up and speaks.
377. T: "It's a fact."
378. MS: Khoma looks ahead.
379. MS: The bearded man looks up and speaks.
380. T: "They've brought it. Well, that's the end."
381. MS: An old woman cries.
382. MS: Vasyl speaks.
383. LS: Vasyl speaks to a crowd with his back to the camera.
384. LS: The crowd gathered around Vasyl.
385. MS: Like #382.
386. T: "Old Peter's telling the truth. It is a fact."
387. MS: Vasyl speaking.
388. T: "We'll"
389. T: prosper
390. T: with tractors."
391. MS: A man laughing.
392. MS: Khoma laughing.
393. MS: Vasyl speaking.
394. T: "The fields have lost the rich farmers' fences."
395. MS: Worried Khoma speaks.
396. T: "Watch out your mother doesn't lose..."
397. MS: An older man standing above the bearded man.
398. MS: The older man speaks waving his fists and clapping.
399. MS: Khoma turns to another man.
400. LS: The crowd looking at Vasyl.
401. LS: Vasyl walks through the crowd.
402. MS: Khoma looks ahead.
403. MS: Khoma and Vasyl in profile. Vasyl speaks.
404. T: "We'll see about that."
405. CU: Khoma speaks.
406. T: "Yeah, we'll see."

407. CU: Like #405.

408. CU: Vasyl.

409. MS: Khoma and Vasyl in profile.

410. MS: An old man with a moustache looks ahead; then he runs away.

411. CU: Vasyl looks to the camera and speaks.

412. T: "We're starting, Thomas!"

413. MS: Ploughing (TR).

414. CU: Ploughing (TR).

415. CU: A wheel of the plough (TR).

416. MS: (HA) The soil being turned over (TR).

417. MS: The soil being turned over (TR).

418. MS: The soil being turned over (TR).

419. MS: Vasyl driving the tractor (TR).

420. MS: The wheel of the plough (TR).

421. MS: The soil being turned over (TR).

422. MS: The wheel of the plough (TR).

423. MS: The wheel of the plough(TR).

424. MS: The wheel of the plough (TR).

425. MS: The soil being turned over (TR).

426. MS: The wheel of the plough (TR).

427. MS: A man runs on the cultivated soil (TR).

428. MS: The plough moving right to left (TR).

429. MS: Like #427. The man runs L to R (TR).

430. MS: Like #428 (TR).

431. MS: Like #427 (TR).

432. MS: The plough turns the soil (TR).

433. MS: Like #427 (TR).

434. MS: Like #428 (TR).

435. MS: Like #427 (TR).

436. MS: The soil being turned (TR).

437. MS: Like #427 (TR).

438. MS: Something indistinguishable (very short take).

439. MS: The plough moves from R to L in dust.

440. MS: The tractor pulls the plough.

441. MS: Vasyl drives the tractor (TR).

442. LS: A man scythes wheat.

443. MS: Opanas scythes.

444. MS: Like #441. Vasyl shouts (TR).

445. T: "Pop!"

446. MS: Opanas stops and looks ahead.

447. MS: Like #444 (TR).

448. T: "Get rid of that snag!"

449. MS: Opanas talks back.

450. MS: The plough turns the soil (TR).

451. MS: Like #449. Opanas returns to work.

452. MS: A moving part of a sheaf-binder (TR).

453. MS: A moving conveyer of the sheaf-binder (TR).

454. MS: Like #452 (TR).

455. MS: The sheaf-binder is pulled by the tractor (TR).

456. MS: A conveyer of the sheaf-binder (TR).

457. MS: A worker sits on the sheaf-binder (TR).

458. MS: Vasyl drives the tractor (TR).

459. MS: Like #452 (TR).

460. MS: Moving parts of the sheaf-binder (TR).

461. MS: Vasyl drives the tractor (TR).

462. MS: A man drives a tractor which pulls a sheaf-binder (TR).

463. MS: Like #461 (TR).

464. MS: (LA) A woman sheaves straw.

465. MS: A woman's calves.

466. CU: A woman's hands tie a sheaf.

467. CU: A smiling woman sheaves.

468. CU: A smiling woman sheaves.

469. MS: An older woman wearing a kerchief sheaves.

470. MS: Like #452 (TR).

471. MS: A sheaf-binder at work (TR).

472. MS: A woman sheaves.

473. MS: Another woman in kerchief sheaves.

474. MS: Like #452 (TR).

475. MS: A pair of hands tie a sheaf.

476. CU: Like #468.

477. MS: A woman bends over a sheaf.

478. CU: Like #467.

479. MS: (LA) A woman sheaving.

480. MS: A woman sheaving.

481. CU: Vasyl drives the tractor which pulls the sheaf-binder (TR).

482. CU: Like #468.

483. CU: A woman sheaves.

484. MS: A woman seen from behind lifts a sheaf.

485. MS: A woman's calves.

486. MS: A woman bends over a sheaf; seen from behind.

487. MS: A woman ties a sheaf.

488. MS: A woman bends over a sheaf.

489. MS: A woman's calves.

490. MS: A woman ties a sheaf.

491. MS: A woman arranges her kerchief.

492. CU: A woman sheaves.

493. MS: A woman lifts a sheaf.

494. MS: A woman ties a sheaf.

495. MS: A woman bends over a sheaf.

496. CU: Opanas looks around.

497. MS: A woman ties a sheaf.

498. MS: A woman's hands tie a sheaf.

499. CU: A woman's hands tie a sheaf.

500. CU: A woman's hands tie a sheaf.

501. CU: A woman's hands tie a sheaf.

502. CU: A woman's hands tie a sheaf.

503. CU: Opanas lifts a sheaf; he turns around and speaks.

504. MS: A man lifts a sheaf with a fork.

505. MS: Two women working on a grain separator.

506. MS: The man with the fork.

507. MS: Like #505.

508. MS: Two women working on the grain separator.

509. CU: Opanas turns his head and shouts.

510. MS: People working with rakes.

511. LS: A grain separator at work.

512. MS: A woman works in front of a grain separator.

513. MS: A man lifts a sheaf with a fork.

514. LS: Men and women carrying sheaves.

515. MS: Opanas lifts a sheaf.

516. MS: Vasyl drives a tractor which pulls a sheaf-binder (TR).

517. CU: Smiling Opanas speaks.

518. CU: A woman turns her head and speaks.

519. CU: Like #517.

520. MS: A horse shakes its head.

521. CU: A woman sheaves.

522. CU: A woman sheaves.

523. MS: A woman bends over a sheaf.

524. MS: A woman bends over a sheaf and looks towards the camera.

525. MS: Like #523.

526. MS: A woman bends over a sheaf.

527. MS: Two men working with forks.

528. LS: A man at work.

529. MS: A sheaf-binder.

530. MS: Like #452.

531. MS: A man working in the dust.
532. MS: A man lifts a sheaf with a fork.
533. MS: Two women work on a grain separator.
534. MS: A conveyer takes the straw up.
535. MS: The grain separator at work.
536. MS: Like #534.
537. MS: A woman working with a rake.
538. MS: Men work with forks.
539. MS: Like #533.
540. MS: Two women work on a grain separator.
541. MS: Like #533.
542. MS: Like #540.
543. MS: Like #533.
544. LS: People working in dust.
545. MS: A fan blowing chaff.
546. MS: People working in the dust.
547. MS: Straw and chaff are being blown.
548. MS: People working in the dust.
549. MS: Like #545.
550. MS: A woman raking.
551. MS: Straw dropping off a conveyer belt.
552. MS: Grain moves on a conveyer belt.
553. CU: Grain moves on a conveyer belt.
554. MS: A box shakes.
555. LS: A row of boxes shake.
556. MS: A box shakes.
557. MS: Grain falling through a sieve.
558. MS: Grain falling through a sieve.
559. MS: Four sleeves of the machine shake.
560. MS: Two sleeves of the machine shake.
561. MS: Four sleeves of the machine shake.

562. MS: A box shakes.
563. MS: Grain falling through a sieve.
564. MS: Four sleeves of the machine shake.
565. MS: Like #562.
566. MS: Two sleeves of the machine shake.
567. MS: Grain falling through a sieve.
568. CU: Grain falling through a sieve.
569. MS: Grain falling through a sieve.
570. CU: Grain falling through a sieve.
571. MS: Grain falling through a sieve.
572. CU: Grain falling through a sieve
573. CU: Like #553.
574. MS: Like #552.
575. CU: Like #553.
576. MS: Flour is being sifted.
577. MS: Flour is being sifted.
578. MS: Flour is being sifted.
579. MS: Like #577.
580. MS: A man working at a machine.
581. MS: A man working at a dough making machine.
582. MS: An arm of the dough making machine mixes dough.
583. MS: An arm of the dough making machine. Different angle.
584. MS: A plough turns soil (TR).
585. MS: Like #583.
586. MS: Like #584 (TR).
587. MS: Dough being mixed.
588. MS: Straw moving on a conveyer belt.
589. MS: Like #587.
590. MS: A man working in the dust.
591. MS: (LA) A woman sheaves.
592. MS: Similar to #591.

593. MS: (LA) Another woman sheaves.

594. MS: Like #583.

595. MS: A plough turns soil (TR).

596. MS: A part of a plough (TR).

597. MS: Like #595.

598. MS: Dough in a container.

599. MS: Like #582.

600. MS: Dough falls out of the container.

601. CU: A mass of dough is being moved.

602. MS: A conveyer belt forms dough.

603. MS: Dough is being put into tins.

604. MS: Like #602.

605. MS: Dough is being put into tins. Different angle from #603.

606. MS: Like #602.

607. MS: Like #605.

608. MS: Like #602.

609. LS: People working at the dough mixing machine.

610. MS: A man pushes a cart full of bread.

611. LS: Drunk Khoma and another men walk along a village road. Khoma tries to dance.

612. MS: Khoma dances and shouts.

613. T: "Toss me in the air! I'll pay!"

614. MS: Like #612.

615. MS: Khoma's companion.

616. LS: A man runs on a village road towards the camera.

617. CU: The man shouts.

618. T: "Thomas! Basil's plowed up our fence with his tractor!"

619. MS: Khoma's companion stops suddenly.

620. MS: Khoma stares at the camera.

Fade out
Fade in

621. LS: The night sky.

622. LS: The night sky.

623. MS: A couple sit motionless.

624. MS: Another couple.

625. LS: A moonlit field.

626. MS: The couple from shot #624.

627. MS: A different couple.

628. MS: Another couple stands at the window.

629. MS: An older couple sleeping in bed.

630. MS: A young woman.

631. MS: Vasyl hugs Natalka.

632. CU: A woman's head resting on a man's chest.

633. MS: Like #631.

634. CU: Like #632.

635. MS: An old man asleep.

636. MS: Vasyl and Natalka look into each other's eyes.

637. LS: A moonlit lake.

638. MS: Vasyl walks slowly on a village road.

639. MS: A horse grazing.

640. MS: Like #638. Vasyl smiles.

641. LS: Vasyl walks away from the camera.

642. LS: Vasyl walks towards the camera on a village street.

643. LS: Vasyl walks towards the camera on a village street.

644. LS: Vasyl walks towards the camera. Suddenly he breaks into a dance.

645. LS: Vasyl dances towards the camera.

646. MS: Vasyl dances towards the camera.

647. MS: Vasyl dances towards the camera.

648. LS: Vasyl dances towards the camera.

649. LS: (HA) Vasyl dances. Suddenly he falls to the ground.

650. LS: A horse raises its head.

651. LS: Like #649. Someone runs out from the bushes.

Fade out
Fade in

652. CU: Vasyl's body laying on a bed.

653. LS: A field of wheat; heavy clouds.

654. CU: Like #652.

655. CU: Vasyl's mother.

656. MS: Opanas looks towards the camera and closes his eyes.

657. MS: Natalka enters the room and stops; she breathes heavily.

658. MS: Vasyl's body on a bed. Opanas stands beside the bed with his back to the camera.

659. MS: Natalka bites her fingers and breathes heavily. She screams.

660. T: "Oh, Basil!"

661. MS: A child sitting on the floor eats a watermelon.

662. MS: Breathing heavily, Natalka looks ahead in agony.

663. MS: Like #661.

664. MS: Opanas looks down. He raises his eyes and shouts.

665. T: "Hey, you guys named John!"

666. MS: (LA) Opanas shouts against the sky.

667. T: "You named Stephen!"

668. MS: Opanas turns and shouts.

669. T: "You named Greg!"

670. CU: Opanas shouts towards the camera.

671. T: "Did

672. T: you

673. T: kill

674. T: my Basil?"

675. MS: Like #666.

676. LS: A line of telegraph poles against heavy skies.

677. MS: (HA) Opanas turns around. He walks towards the camera with increasing speed. He stares at the camera (TR).

678. MS: Opanas approaches Khoma.

679. CU: Khoma looks down.

680. CU: Opanas speaks (seen in profile).

681. T: "Thomas, was it you?"

682. CU: Like #679. Khoma raises his eyes and then looks down again.

683. CU: Like #680.

684. T: "I'm asking, was it you who killed Basil?"

685. CU: Like #680.

686. CU: Like #679. Khoma shakes his head.

687. T: "No sir, it wasn't me."

Fade in

688. MS: Opanas sitting at the table and resting his head on his arm.

Fade out
Fade in

689. MS: Like #688.

Fade out
Fade in

690. MS: Like #688.

691. MS: Opanas raises his head.

692. CU: Opanas turns his head as if listening to something.

693. CU: Vasyl's mother turns her head to the left as if she were listening to something.

694. CU: Vasyl's sister turns her head to the right and runs to the right.

695. MS: Vasyl's mother turns her head towards the camera while listening.

696. CU: Vasyl's sister turns her head towards the camera and raises her eyes.

697. CU: Opanas looks towards the right and the left and gets up.

698. MS: Opanas walks towards the hall door and opens it.

699. MS: Opanas walks towards the main door and unlocks it.

700. MS: Opanas stands at the door as somebody pounds on the door from the other side.

701. MS: Vasyl's mother opens the hall door and looks through.

702. MS: Opanas turns his head and motions to his wife.

703. MS: Like #701. She closes the door.

704. MS: Like #700. Opanas opens the main door.

705. CU: Opanas standing in the doorway.

706. CU: An old priest looks down.

707. CU: Like #705.

708. CU: Like #705 but closer.

709. CU: Like #705 but even closer.

710. CU: Like #705 very close.

711. CU: The old priest.

712. CU: Like #705. Opanas speaks.

713. T: "There ain't no God."

714. CU: Like #706.

715. CU: Like #705. Opanas turns his head and speaks.

716. T: "And you neither."

717. MS: The old priest looks down and turns around.

718. MS: Opanas looks at the camera.

719. MS: Two men lean on their arms at a table.

720. MS: A man looks down.

721. MS: Like #718.

722. MS: Like #720. The man looks up.

723. CU: Opanas speaks.

724. T: "I ask you..."

725. MS: Opanas with his back to the camera. A group of men sit at the table in the background.

726. CU: Opanas.

727. CU: The man from shot #720 looks up.

728. CU: Opanas raises his eyes and speaks.

729. T: "As my Basil was killed, for a new life... So I'm asking you to bury him in a new way..."

730. CU: Like #728.

731. MS: A man at the table.

732. T: "So it wouldn't be priests and parsons singing of death..."

733. CU: Like #728.

734. T: "Our young fellows and gals can...by themselves..."

735. CU: Opanas speaks.

736. T: "And let them sing new songs of the new life."

737. CU: Like #728.

738. MS: The chairman looks up and speaks.

739. T: "All right, Mr. Panas. We'll bury our Basil by ourselves."

740. CU: Like #728.

741. CU: The chairman speaks.

742. T: "Without priests and without parsons."

743. CU: Like #728. Opanas rubs his forehead.

744. CU: Like #741.

745. T: "And we'll sing new songs of the new life."

746. CU: Like #728.

Fade out

747. MS: Women carrying flowers march towards the camera and sing (TR).

748. MS: Men sing while marching (TR).

749. MS: Men and women sing (TR).

750. MS: Men singing (TR).

751. CU: Men singing (TR).

752. CU: Men singing (TR).

753. LS: People run from their houses.

754. LS: People run from their houses. An old woman crosses herself.

755. CU: Men singing (TR).

756. CU: Men singing (TR).

757. LS: People run towards the camera.

758. LS: People run away from the camera.

759. MS: The procession of people singing (TR).

760. CU: Men singing (TR).

761. CU: Men singing (TR).

762. CU: Men singing (TR).

763. CU: Men singing (TR).

764. LS: People run from L to R.

765. LS: People run towards the camera.

766. MS: Women march and sing (TR).

767. MS: Women march and sing (TR).

768. MS: Children singing (TR).

769. MS: An old woman crosses herself.

770. MS: Another woman crosses herself.

771. LS: People run from L to R.

772. CU: An old woman laments.

773. T: "Without a priest. That's all very well, if there is no God..."

774. MS: Men marching and singing (TR).

775. CU: Like #772.

776. T: "...But what if there is!"

777. CU: Similar to #772. The woman crosses herself.

778. LS: People march towards the camera.

779. MS: Vasyl's mother stands in front of her house.

780. LS: People run away from the camera.

781. MS: Like #779. Vasyl's mother crosses herself and is seized by labour pains.

782. MS: She walks towards the house holding her belly.

783. LS: People run away from the camera.

784. MS: Vasyl's mother walks towards the house supporting herself on a fence.

785. MS: She reaches the door.

786. LS: People walk towards the camera.

787. MS: Opanas walks towards the camera; he is followed by the procession (TR).

788. LS: Like #786.

789. CU: Opanas walking (TR).

790. MS: Men singing (TR).

791. CU: Men singing (TR).

792. CU: Men singing (TR).

793. CU: A boy singing (TR).

794. CU: Another boy singing (TR).

795. MS: Men singing (TR).

796. MS: Opanas leads the procession.

797. LS: People walk towards the camera.

798. MS: Khoma sits at the table and listens.

799. MS: An old man sitting at the table.

800. MS: Khoma stands against the wall.

801. MS: Like #799.

802. MS: Like #798.

803. MS: Vasyl's body is being carried. Apple tree branches full of apples brush his body (TR).

804. MS: Like #798.

805. MS: Like #799. The old man pounds the table with his fist and shouts.

806. CU: A scared Khoma.

807. MS: Men singing (TR).

808. MS: Men and women singing (TR).

809. MS: Men and women singing (TR).

810. MS: Men and women singing (TR).

811. MS: The old man gets up from the table.

812. LS: People walk towards the camera.

813. LS: People running L to R.

814. MS: (LA) Men singing (TR).

815. MS: (LA) Men singing (TR).

816. MS: (LA) Men singing (TR).

817. LS: Khoma runs away from the camera in an empty field.

818. LS: (HA) The priest stands alone in empty space.

819. LS: Khoma running away from the camera.

820. LS: (HA) The priest falls to his knees and prays.

821. T: "Lord, smite the impious."

822. LS: Like #820.

823. MS: (LA) Khoma running (TR).
824. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).
825. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).
826. LS: Like #820.
827. T: "Smite them, o Lord!"
828. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).
829. MS: Opanas leads the procession (TR).
830. MS: Vasyl's mother in labour.
831. MS: Vasyl's mother in labour.
832. MS: Vasyl's sister looks to the right and gathers some cloth.
833. CU: Vasyl's mother in labour.
834. CU: Vasyl's sister looks to the right.
835. MS: Like #831.
836. LS: Vasyl's body is carried along a field of sunflowers (TR).
837. MS: (LA) Khoma runs and shouts in the fields (TR).
838. LS: Like #836 (TR).
839. MS: Naked Natalka holds her breasts and shouts.
840. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).
841. MS: (LA) Khoma runs towards the camera and stops.
842. T: "It's my earth. I won't give it up!"
843. LS: The procession moves towards the camera.
844. MS: Like #841. Khoma turns around and runs away from the camera.
845. MS: Naked Natalka pulls her hair in an empty room.
846. MS: Khoma, with his head in the soil, turns around.
847. MS: (HA) The priest raises his arms and speaks.
848. T: "Smite them!"
849. MS: Like #847.
850. CU: Vasyl's mother in labour.
851. MS: Opanas leads the procession (TR).
852. MS: (LA) Men singing (TR).
853. MS: (LA) Women singing (TR).

854. MS: Grandfather Petro sits on the church steps and smokes.

855. MS: An excited young woman speaks.

856. T: "Where's the good father?"

857. CU: Grandfather Petro smokes and points to his back with his pipe.

858. T: "Over there somewhere--he's putting a curse on the collective farms."

859. MS: The priest prays on his knees in front of the iconostasis.

860. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).

861. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).

862. MS: (HA) The priest prays.

863. MS: Natalka shouts.

864. T: "Oh, Basil!"

865. MS: Like #863.

866. MS: Khoma runs (TR).

867. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).

868. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).

869. MS: The priest in front of the iconostasis with his back to the camera. He moves to the left.

870. MS: The priest reaches for something to his left.

871. LS: Khoma runs towards the camera in an empty field.

872. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).

873. MS: Naked Natalka pounds her fists on pillows and throws the pillows to the ground.

874. LS: The priest walks from R to L in front of the iconostasis.

875. MS: The priest prays in front of an icon with his back to the camera.

876. MS: Natalka cries.

877. MS: (LA) People singing (TR).

878. MS: Natalka runs across the room from R to L. She pounds her fists on the wall.

879. T: "Oh, Basil!"

880. MS: People run towards the camera.

881. LS: A herd of horses runs from R to L.

882. LS: The horses running.

883. LS: People running from L to R.

884. LS: The horses running from R to L.

885. MS: The naked Natalka pounds on an icon with her fists. Her back is to the camera.

886. LS: The priest in front of the iconostasis.

887. MS: Like #885. Natalka tears towels and the icon from the wall and throws them to the ground.

888. MS: (HA) The priest prays.

889. MS: (HA) Vasyl's mother rests in bed.

890. LS: Khoma runs in circles in the fields.

891. LS: (HA) A crowd of people.

892. LS: Vasyl's friend speaks to the crowd.

893. MS: Vasyl's friend speaks.

894. LS: (HA) The crowd.

895. MS: Like #893.

896. MS: People in the crowd listening.

897. CU: Vasyl's friend speaks.

898. T: "In their death throes, our foes' hatred for the downtrodden has taken Basil away..."

899. CU: Opanas closes his eyes.

900. CU: Vasyl's friend speaks.

901. LS: Khoma runs into a cemetery, stops and shouts.

902. T: "Hey, poor people! It's me!"

903. MS: (LA) Khoma shouts.

904. LS: Vasyl's friend speaks to the crowd.

905. CU: Khoma shouts.

906. T: "Beat me--I'll die before I give up!"

907. CU: Vasyl's friend speaks.

908. T: "With a Communist steel horse, Basil overturned the thousand-year-old forces."

909. CU: Khoma shouts.

910. T: "I killed him in the night!!!"

911. CU: Like #909.

912. MS: The crowd listening.

913. MS: People in the crowd look up.

914. CU: Vasyl's friend speaks.

915. CU: Khoma shouts.

916. T: "...in the night, when everything was asleep!"

917. CU: Like #915.

918. CU: Vasyl's friend speaks.

919. CU: Opanas listening.

920. CU: Khoma shouts angrily.

921. T: "But he

922. T: was walking

923. T: down the lane

924. CU: Like #920.

925. T: and dancing."

926. MS: (LA) Khoma starts dancing.

927. LS: Khoma dances in the cemetery.

928. CU: Vasyl's friend speaks.

929. T: "...And with warm blood he has signed the supreme verdict against our class enemy..."

930. LS: Vasyl's friend speaks to the crowd.

931. LS: Like #927. Khoma falls to the ground.

932. CU: Vasyl's friend speaks.

933. T: "But you, sir, our Panas, do not despair."

934. CU: Opanas looks up.

935. MS: Men in the crowd listening.

936. CU: Vasyl's friend speaks.

937. T: "The glory of our Basil will fly around the world..."

938. CU: Vasyl's friend speaks and points to the sky.

939. T: "Like that Communist airplane of ours up there!"

940. LS: Vasyl's friend speaks to the crowd and points to the sky.

941. LS: (HA) The crowd looking up.

942. LS: (HA) The crowd looking up.

943. LS: (HA) The crowd looking up.

944. LS: A field of wheat.

945. MS: Tree branches with apples.

946. MS: Tree branches with apples.

Dissolve to:

947. CU: Apples.

948. MS: Tree branches with apples.

Dissolve to:

949. CU: Apples on tree branches in the rain.

950. MS: Several apples on the ground in the rain.

951. LS: An abundance of apples on the ground in the rain.

952. MS: Like #950.

953. MS: Watermelons in the rain.

954. MS: A pile of melons in the rain.

955. MS: Melon halves in the rain.

956. MS: A pile of melons in the rain.

957. MS: Melons on the ground in the rain.

958. MS: Melons on the ground in the rain.

959. MS: Apples in the rain.

960. MS: Like #954.

961. MS: Like #955.

962. MS: Like #954.

963. MS: Heavy rain hitting the ground.

964. MS: Several apples on the ground in the heavy rain.

965. MS: Apples in the heavy rain.

966. MS: Piled up melons in the heavy rain.

967. MS: An apple tree in the heavy rain.

968. MS: An apple tree in the heavy rain.

969. MS: Melons are being washed by the rain.

Dissolve to:

970. MS: Melons are being washed by the rain.

Dissolve to:

971. MS: Melons are being washed by the rain.

972. MS: Apples on tree branches. The rain stops.

973. MS: Apples on tree branches dripping with rain water.

974. CU: Apples with rain drops on them.

975. CU: Apples with rain drops on them.

976. CU: Rain drops on an apple.

977. CU: Natalka leans on a man and looks up.

978. CU: A man looks down while smiling.

979. CU: Like #977.

980. MS: Natalka and the man embrace each other and breathe heavily.

Fade to black